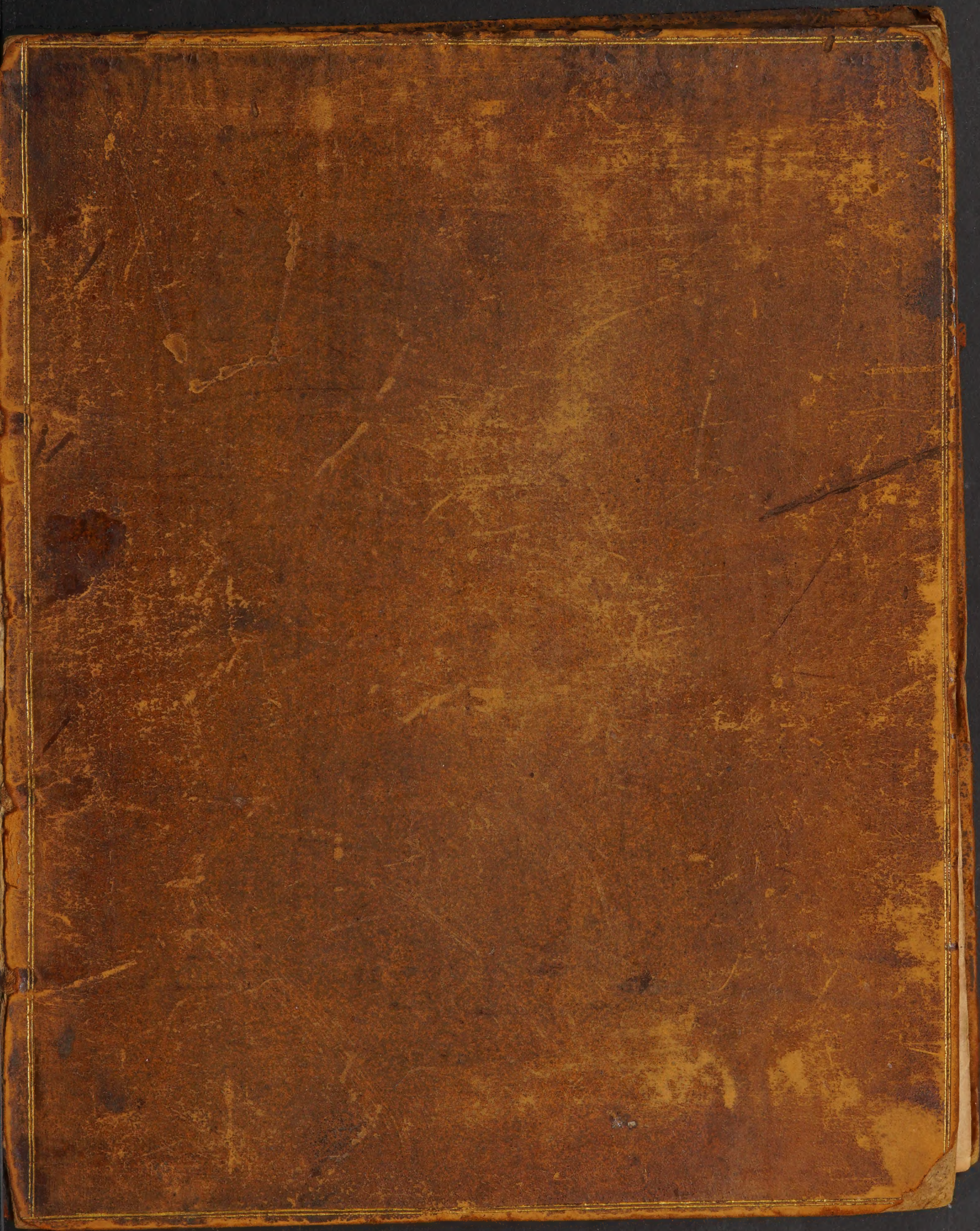












MS. A. 9. 2. 11

To
Miss Mathews
from
the author.

W. H. P. P. P.

203/0654/227

Edinburgh

25/12/52

NGRH

CFH

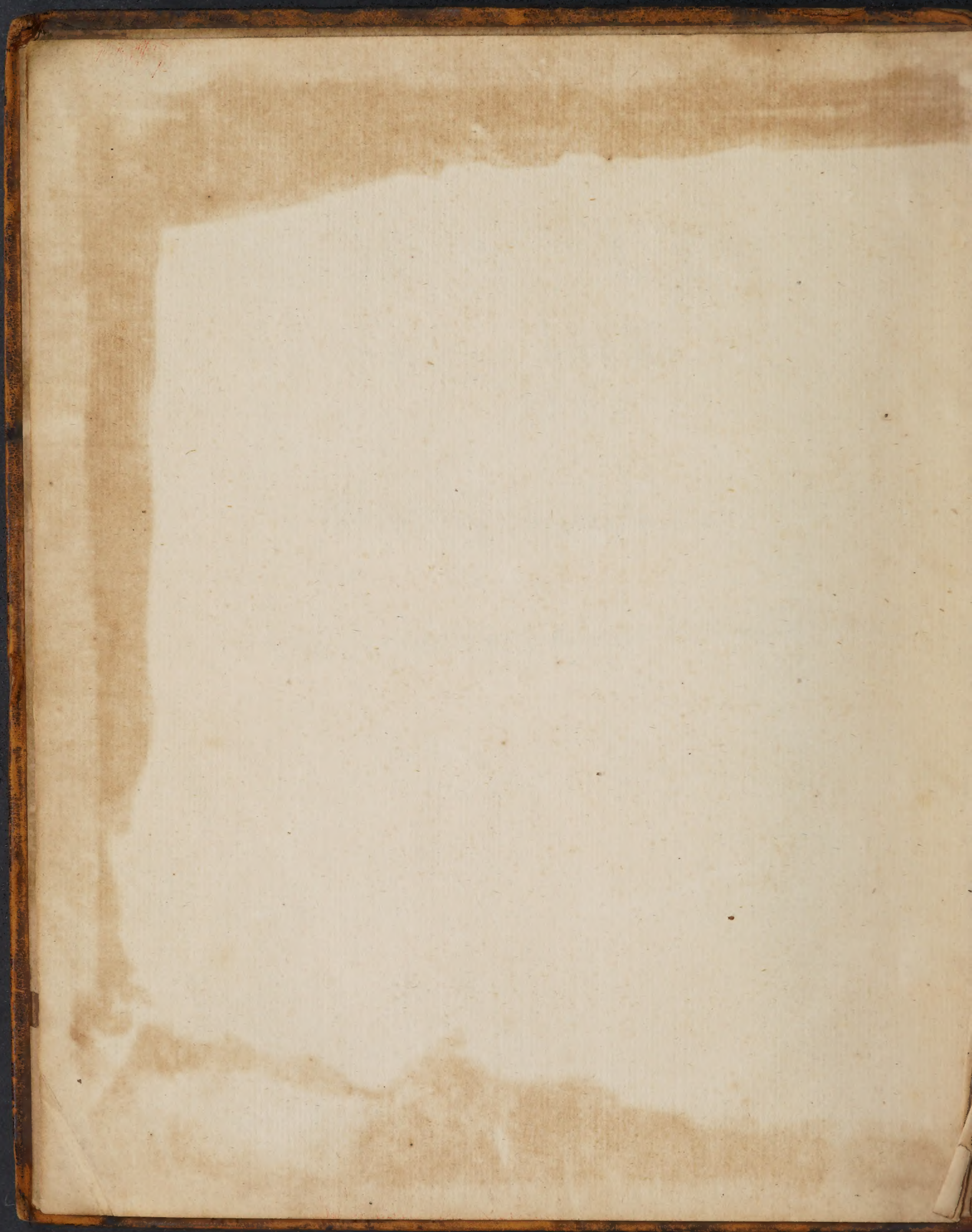
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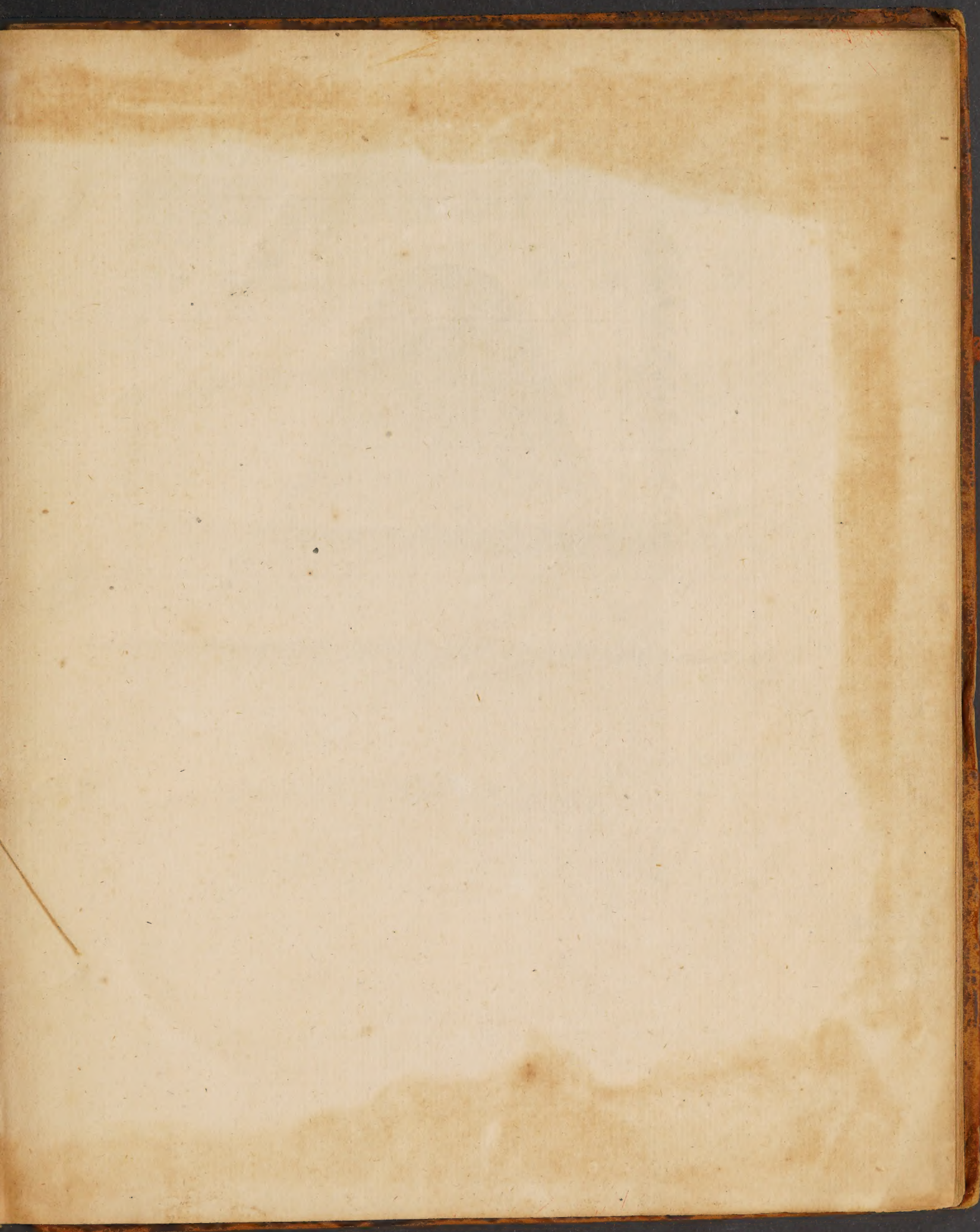
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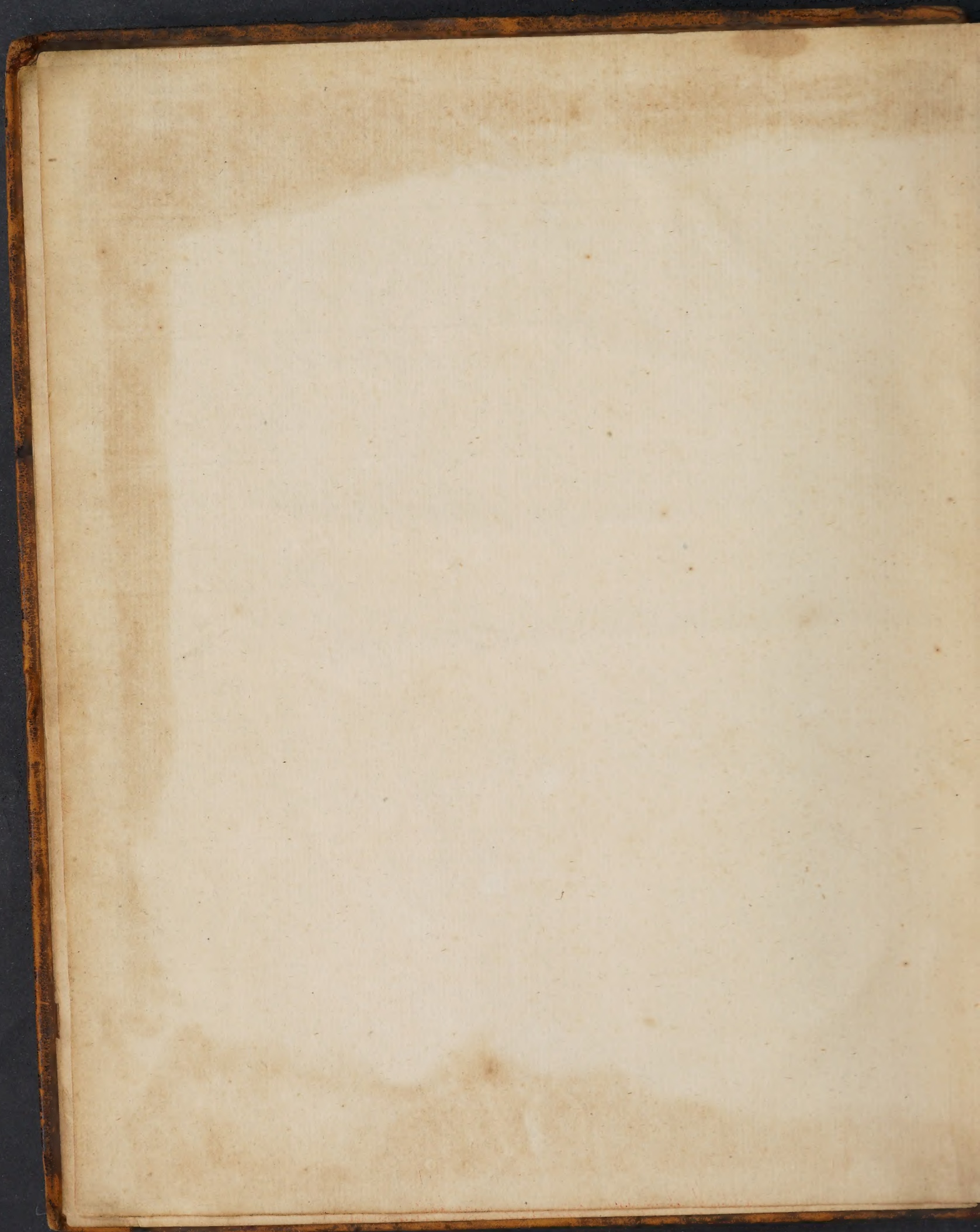
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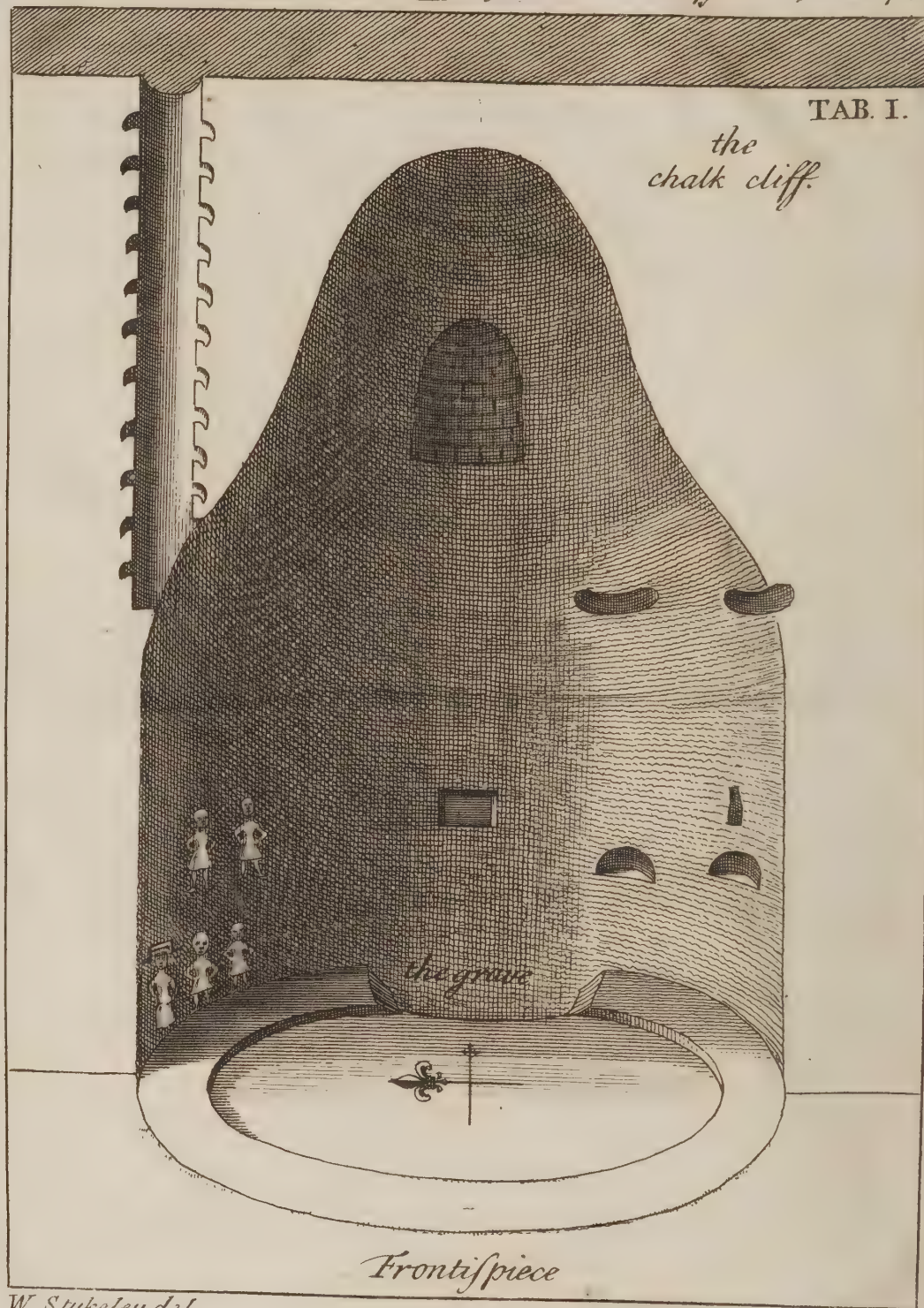








A section of ROISIA'S Mausoleum at Royston. 19 Oct. 1742.



W. Stukeley del.

J. Mynile sc.

*A most curious and scarce work by the celebrated W. Stukeley
with Plates - very valuable and entertaining to an Antiquarian
6 copper plates* Palæographia Britannica: worth 15/0

O R,
D I S C O U R S E S
O N
A N T I Q U I T I E S
I N
B R I T A I N.

Job Lousley's Book N U M B E R II. *Hampstead Norris Book*
1045

*Origines Roystonianæ, Part II. or a defence of lady R O I S I A de Vere
Foundress of Roiston, against the calumny of Mr. Parkin rector of Ox-
burgh. wherein his pretended answer is fully refuted: the former opinion
further confirm'd and illustrated. To which occasionally are added, many
curious matters in antiquity: and six copper-plates.*

*Nec satis apparet, cur librum falkitet, utrum
minxerit in patrios cineres: an triste bidental
moverit incestus: certe furit, ac velut ursus,
objectos Cavæ valuit si frangere clathros,
indoctum, doctumque fugat recitator acerbus.*

By WILLIAM STUKELEY *Rector of All-saints in Stamford.*

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To the Right Honourable

The Lord *H A R D W I C K*,

Lord High-Chancellor of *Great-Britain*, &c. &c.

My Lord,

IT happens, that I very soon fulfill, what I seem to have prognosticated, when I first did myself the honor, of prefixing your great name, to my book on this subject.

“ Time that diminishes most things, may possibly
“ add to the bulk of this work, and render it a volume,
“ and more worthy of your Lordships patronage.

The first part is really accomplish'd, and sooner than I then thought of: I wish I may be as sure of the latter part.

I was

DEDICATION.

I was then induc'd to inscribe it to your Lordship, not on account of the bulk of the work, but because of the curiosity and worthiness of the subject, as it appear'd to me; and because of its vicinity, to your Lordships elegant retreat of *Wimpole*; which you have re-edify'd, and render'd more agreeable for your abode, when publick cares will permit you, to enjoy the sweets of retirement.

I did not mean, nor do I now mean, to make your name a sanction to my errors. if I have committed any, I take them to my self. But I might reasonably have hoped, no one would offer ungentleman-like treatment, to any paper, that had the name of Lord *Hardwick* prefix'd: whose discernment of persons and things is too exact, to countenance rudeness, or ignorance.

As the *Roiston* antiquity is now become a controversy: what I then offer'd to your Lordship as a protector of learning, I now lay before you as a judg; well qualified in all kinds of human and divine literature. your Lordship's penetration, is every day exercis'd in discovering truth, thro' the glosses put upon it, by the most artful oratory and eloquence. when thrown only into the plainest and simplest light: you will not have the least difficulty in discerning it, from that changeable and fallacious garb, which pretenders to science may draw over it.

The

DEDICATION.

The cause likewise of a great lady and a widow, the cause of a great king traduc'd and ill treated, naturally addresses its self to your Lordships tribunal: where it will surely meet that countenance which it deserves, and in your consummate judgement will acquiesce.

To such, to the character of the dead, as well as of the living, your Lordship is the rightful patron and protector.

Some of the noble parts of the history of our illustrious monarch *Henry II* as a *legislator* and lawyer, a hero, and a prince of piety and religion, are here illustrated, from real monuments of his time; conformable to the historians, who then wrote from their own knowledg. if at any time it engages your Lordships attention: and if it contributes to your entertainment, it will be the greatest pleasure to

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most devoted,

6. july 1745.

and obedient servant,

W. STUKELEY.





T H E
P R E F A C E

WHEN I was inform'd that Mr. P—— had been for two years, busying himself and friends, about writing on the Roiston antiquity : I imagin'd, he had met with some record, that gave a new light to it. what I wrote was done in a very short time, at London, immediately after I had taken the drawings of the place. I did it, with an intent to entertain some friends that desired my opinion of it. I likewise thought the thing deserv'd it ; for I take it to be the most considerable English antiquity, we have seen.

I have had many letters from Mr. Roger Gale and other good judges of such matters, that thought in the same manner : and commending what I had done. but it surpriz'd me a little, when I read Mr. P——s book, finding after he had made a great parade of advertizing by himself and friends : and a muster-roll of reasons, proofs and demonstrations : yet in reality, he had only perplex'd, and darken'd the subject with new conjectures ; and as they appear to me, absolutely wild, arbitrary and groundless. I thought it strange that he should trouble the world, on no better a foundation ; 'till I discern'd, that there was some more than ordinary sinister view in it : and that a torrent of dissingenuity, rudeness, and inflexible contradiction, misrepresentation, and all the engines of a perverse spirit were employ'd ; which evidently shew'd, it was dictated by a party rage : as he had no personal knowledge of me.

A man's foes shall be they of his own household : a truth which must hold good, because spoken by the highest authority ! the subterraneous chapel at Roiston, was not my property, nor did I assume the monopoly of writing upon it. and why might not two persons write upon it, without being offensive to one another ? but somewhat more than common is ever at the bottom ; when ill language is us'd : at least, with the lawyers, it is reckon'd, the sign of a bad cause.

This

The P R E F A C E.

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This gentleman, who from an oblique turn somewhere, undertook to write against me, suppos'd, he could not make out a book, unless he transcrib'd mine. and after he had tired his friends, far and near, town and country, with endeavouring to get subscriptions, for so important a performance: he thought, the book would not sell with a simple title, therefore he garnish'd it, with the pomp of, Remarks on or an answer to Dr. Stukeley's book.

Like Horace's chap,

Ut præco, ad merces, turbam qui cogit emendas.

and that he might transfuse my book compleatly into his own, he purloin'd my plates too; but wanted ingenuity to acknowledge by whom he had profited: and palm'd them upon the world for his own, in his advertisements.

A popish bookseller who sells works, calculated for the benefit of mother church, was first employed to get my plates, from my bookseller. but (as the plates were in my own custody) they were oblig'd to copy them, and very dishonestly left out my name at the bottom of the plates, as the designer. whoever undertakes to draw them out, no worse than I have done, from the subterraneous chapel its self, will find, it takes no small time, and pains and judgment. therefore I had a right to their thanks at least, when they us'd my labours without leave. this usage among protestants is call'd piracy.

In my book, I illustrated the whole affair of this chapel, from the best historians. from those historians that lived in the time, when the things were transacted. from the accurate and learned Benedict Abbot of Peterborough, chaplain to Henry II. always present with him, both at home and in Normandy. a fine character of him in Swapham put out by Sparkes, and a catalogue of the books he wrote, p. 99. see Hernes testimonys of him, before his edition, and of him more hereafter.

*Again my accounts are taken from that noble historian Roger Hoveden, another of Henry II's. chaplains, always at court, personally conversant in all transactions of those times: who had all the original papers in his hand, of which he writes. again, from Giraldus Cambrensis, who was a learned man, and secretary to that monarch, along with him in his Irish expedition, knew all the secrets and springs of persons and things. lastly from Matthew
Paris,*

Paris, a monk of St. Albans, near the seat of power: one of the most renowned historians of this kingdom, says bishop Nicolson, but one particularly lyable to the spleen of the papists. as may be seen sufficiently in the testimonys prefixt to Wats's edition. yet the papists themselves give him the character of an excellent historian.

These were all coeval with the matters wrote on. the history and imagery of the Roiston chapel, the whole of my book, is graphically deduc'd from these authors, and appears like a picture drawn from their words. they mutually confirm each others veracity and exactness. and only upon the supposal of its being done for what I make it, it could not have been design'd more accurately.

But all this is spirited away, by the single romant of the golden legend. there is not any one thing, in my book, that is not attack'd from that promptuary of popish superstition. in a word, p. 28. he makes my whole history of the imagery to be deduc'd from certain monkish annals, and that I am forc'd to stretch even them, to make 'em tally wit^h my account.

This, good reader, is the method wherewith some people treat mankind. you are not to believe any thing but the golden legend. any author, living or dead that tallys not therewith, is to be damn'd. those admirable historians abovemention'd, the honor and glory of our country, and its history, must be branded with the name of monkish annals. they distinguish not, the public transactions of highest moment, of the eastern and western world, the fate and fortune of many kingdoms and estates, letters of the greatest princes, pandects of laws civil and ecclesiastical, and other matters of policy and legislation, of utmost concern to mankind, from the little occurrences, within the walls of a cloister. and all the while the golden legend is held forth, as the only unquestionable authority. so that with much transcription from my book, much from the golden legend, much false quotation, chicanery, sophistry, misrepresentation and invidious reflection, and all my copper plates, a new book is produc'd, to alarm the world with my name, as if I had been guilty of the most atrocious crime. and a dispute is rais'd, upon a matter not of sufficient importance as a dispute, in a science conjectural: and where we possibly may both of us be in the wrong.

But

But in reality, the quarrel is not so much between Dr Stukeley and Mr P—— as between Benedict Abbot and the legenda aurea. for insted of solid history, we must be teaz'd with repeated quotation from thence, and that too in the obsolete language. like the antiquarys guests, invited to an entertainment of acorns: because, truly, that was the most antient food. for the same reason, they ought to be allow'd to drink out of acorn cups only. and this is the way to make the entertainment dry and sober enough. and by this rule, an antiquary may well protract the payment of a tradesman's bill: for 'tis not worthy of his regard, till it becomes an antiquity.

Thus fares it with these gentlemen, that think, if they have got a seal or two of an old abby, they are qualify'd for an author. and that every thing which is old ought to be printed, indiscriminately, for that reason only: without any use, instruction or entertainment. but tis altogether inexcusable to make this a pretence to abuse any person: and carry on schemes of party-resentment, on their waste paper.

I have for a long while enjoy'd the candor of the public, toward my writings. I have quoted innumerable authors therein; never with acrimony, and ill-nature; never without honor, decency and respect. but here my misfortune is to have spoken honorably of a great king, the greatest who ever rul'd our scepter. I have spoken honorably of many noble personages, that were much attack'd to him. I have made Henry the II^d. as it were the hero of my book, who dealt some hard things toward their favorite saint Becket. I have spoke civilly of a lady of quality, and of piety, throughout my book; consequently her name often occurs. this fine lady he rudely calls crambe bis repetita. a new phrase of his own making! I have spoken some true things, tho' not to the honor of the French. I have likewise neglected some fulsom adoration, to some saints, both of English and foreign growth. true and imaginary: this is provocation enough: these are crimes that demand the severest usage: such as the tyrants of civil and spiritual power never fail to deal, toward all under their hands.

Therefore I hope the candid reader will pardon me, if self defence among other reasons, excites me, to offer this further account of the Roiston antiquity, in print. what I wrote before on the subject, I thought it deserv'd it. I had an opinion of the curiosity of it. and I know, to what a length these matters of speculation may acceptably be extended; and no further. I must, then, in-
treat

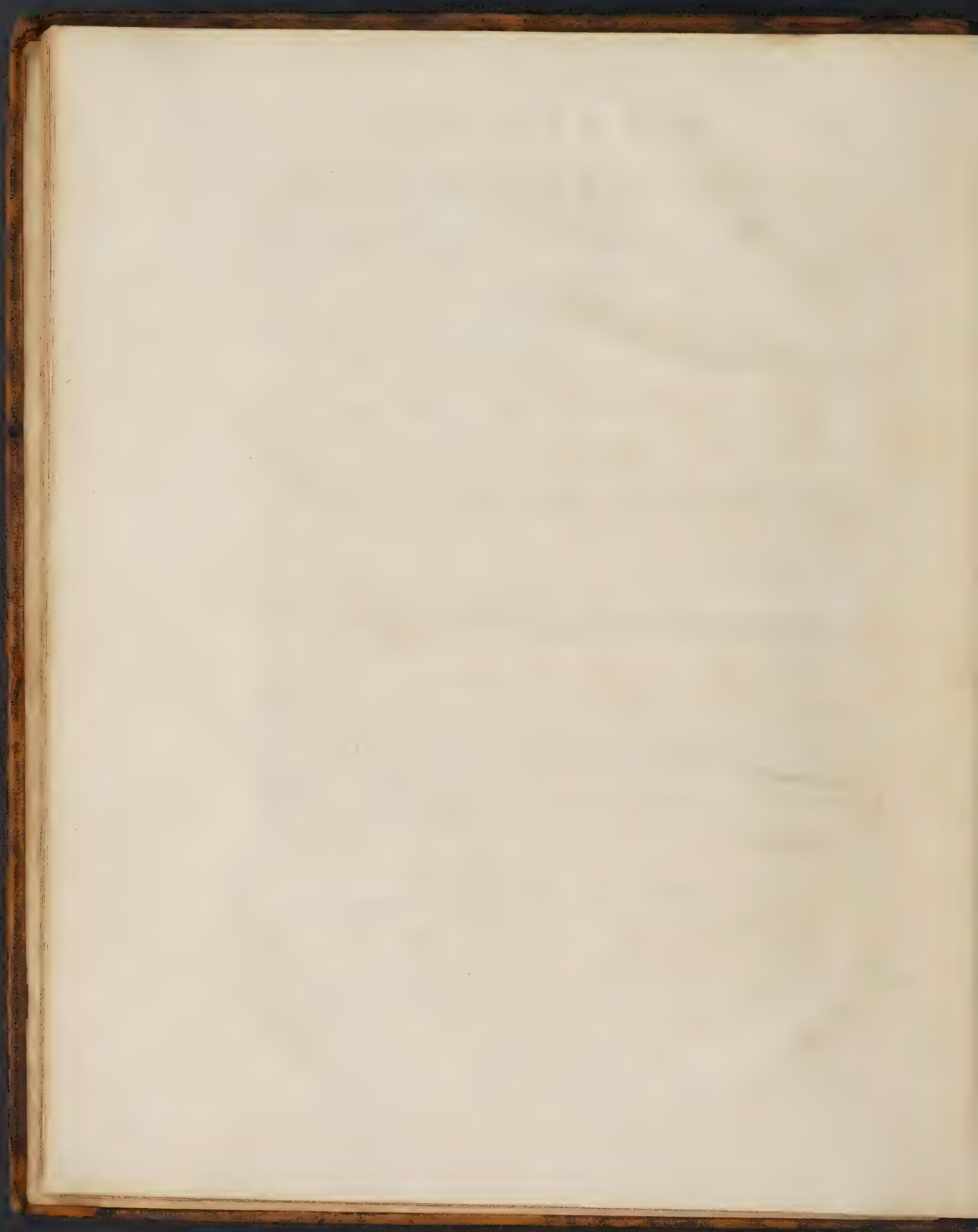
treat the reader not to impute to me, the tediousness or the dulness of the present dispute. and if any thing disagreeable falls to the share of my opponent; if the great laugh is turn'd upon himself: he must charge it to his own account: who began with me, causelessly and unprovoked. nor shall I think my self answerable for any future consequences.

As I have been oblig'd to reconsider the matter, and to re-examine the designs I made of it, I found the further I inquired into it, the more I was convinced of the truth of my former hypothesis; and many new confirmations and illustrations of it occur'd. I have recited a good many of them, tho' not all. this has swell'd my book; and I have added some other incidental matters, that I thought new, useful, important and entertaining; to allure the reader in going thro' such a heap of cross-grain'd contradiction, as I had to deal with. as some further relief to his patience, I have divided it into chapters. I think I have intirely overthrown my adversarys scheme, which is not strong, thro' its own repugnancy to its self. 'tis inconsistent, has no regular system, no meaning, more than a jejune view of restoring the worst part of old religion: making us to believe, there are no claws in the lyon's foot. but I do not pretend to demonstration, as he does, where he is the most distant from it. I think I sufficiently shew, his notions about lady ROISIA's cave, are very illfound-ed, and his fantastic triumph premature.

I have only to advertize and assure the reader, that this work was intirely finished in the beginning of the month of july 1745, before we had any knowledge of the late shocking rebellion; and was intended to have been printed that summer. I mention this for two reasons, 1st. that the reader may not think any expressions herein were owing to that event: in truth, I have struck out many, that might have been so interpreted. and 2^{dly}. I defer'd the publication, till the rebellion was subdu'd; as an amusement unseasonable, in a time of so much danger.

N. B. The motto in the title page is taken from

Horat. de arte poet. ad finem.





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C H A P. I.

Nec minus est virtus, quam quærere, parta tueri.

The tapistry of the conquerors expedition, in the church of Bayeux, of a like taste with lady ROISIA's figures. The noblest monument of English antiquity abroad : as the Roiston cave at home. A new confirmation of my hypothesis from some letters in it. Some remarks on Mr. P——s hostility, the manner and source of it, because I speak civilly of Henry II. The aversion of the court of Rome.

THE great French antiquary, *Montfaucon*, in the year 1730, publish'd a pompous book in two folio volumes, dedicated to the French king ; intituled, *les monumens de la monarchie françoise*, with all the figures and representations of their kings, their monuments, and the antiquitys relating to them, which time has spar'd. The noblest part of that work, is a suit of hangings, belonging to the cathedral church of *Bayeux* in *Normandy*, being the history of the conquest (as comonly call'd) by *William* duke of *Normandy*. This piece of tapistry is 212 foot in length, about two foot in bredth. It contains the representation of *Edward* the confessor making his will ; sending over *Harold*, one of his nobles, to *William* duke of *Normandy* with it : wherein he has nominated him the duke, his successor. *Harold* by tempest is driven upon the coast of *Guy* earl of *Ponthieu* ; who took him prisoner and expected a considerable ransom. Duke *William* hearing of it, demands the liberty of *Harold*, and carrys him to his palace. *Harold* swears fealty to him. He returns. King *Edward* dyes. *Harold* is crown'd by *Stigand* archbishop. The duke builds a fleet and invades *England*, gives battle to *Harold*, who is kill'd.

This is the beginning and the end of this piece of tapistry, for 'tis not quite compleat; nor have I mention'd the whole, of what history it contains; but refer the curious reader to the work. We learn here, from the picture of it, much of the usage of those times, which were the same in *England* and *France*: their habits, arms, ships, churches, houses, and many other matters, conformable to the best historians of the time. And we learn many facts, in that memorable history, which writers have not advertis'd us of.

'Tis the constant opinion of those of the church of *Bayeux*, which has been handed down from the time, concerning this work, that it was made by *Maud*, wife to *William* the conqueror. That vertuous princess, much interest'd for the glory of the king her husband, had a mind to leave to posterity, this monument of one of the greatest and most fortunate expeditions, that ever was made.

Monfieur *Montfaucon* had this work drawn out exactly, in the taste and manner of the original; and has taken pains to illustrate the whole history, largely. His book in general, does great honour to his own country; and this piece in particular, is indeed, the noblest monument in the world, relating to our old *English* history. Had Mr *Parkin* ever seen this Work, he would have sneer'd it; as he has done that at *Roiston*, in language, and complements equally awkward; in the dedication to his patron, of which 'tis proper I should give a specimen: as an introduction to his taste and manner.

“ This must be granted, as you have so accurately survey'd the bold
 “ basso relievo's the breathing statues of the principal saints, the mar-
 “ vellous historical pieces and ornaments requir'd to be, and to be ob-
 “ serv'd in churches abroad——ornaments and relievo's to be found
 “ also in our oratory, tho' in a mean and very low life.

This must be granted to be such a piece of language and matter as never yet was address'd, in any dedication. The meaning of it is too abstruse, too far remov'd from vulgar understanding, for me to pretend to explain the whole of it; I only make *an answer to or remark upon* the last Words, as they appertain to my province. “ Ornaments and relievo's
 “ to be found also, in our oratory, tho' in a very mean and low life.

Mr.

Mr. P—— would certainly think this fine work of *Montfaucon's*, not so elegant as those of *Angelo* and *Bandinello* (as he calls him) but I must tell him, he that pretends to be an antiquarian, should know, the value of things does not altogether go in proportion with their fineness. And had these hangings been as well design'd, as *Angelo* and *Bandinelli* could have done it; they would have been of no value at all; because, like *their* works, they would only be the fantastical ideas of the designers imagination; who never saw the persons and things represented. Yet people of true judgement value these works, because they are what they are; of the taste of the time they belong to, whence we know their genuineness. And those who understand drawing as well as Mr. P—— does, who are not few in number, can very easily form a most exact idea of the thing thus represented, in the taste of the time. It would be absurd and unnatural were it otherwise. And the term of low life is as improperly affixed to these things; as his comparison between the popish ornaments of churches abroad; and the sketches of lady *ROISIA's* crypt.

The truth is, the drawing in this famous piece of tapistry, is so extremely like that of our lady *ROISIA's*, (for so I must still venture to speak, notwithstanding Mr. P——'s anger) that at first sight we discern, they are of a country, and age, and hand, very little distant and different. And I still dare venture to affirm, that the countess *ROISIA* a lady of vertue, much interested for the glory of the king, the great benefactor of their family, faithful adherents to the king (*Henry II.* I mean) wrought these figures and pictures, in her sepulchral chapel at *Roiston*; as a monument to herself and to them. And as *Montfaucon's* tapistry is indubitably, the noblest monument of *English* antiquity abroad, so is our *Roiston* cave, the noblest monument of *English* antiquity, that is in *England*, or that has been discover'd in our time.

'Tis this consideration alone that tempts me, to make this second publication. It was happy for *Montfaucon*, that there is a running inscription in letters, all along every part of the tapistry, to explain the whole: thus it begins,

REX EDWARD HAROLD DVX ANGLORVM
ET SVI MILITES EQVITANT AD BOSHAM
ECCLESIA HIC HAROLD MARE NAVIGAVIT, &c.

otherwise it would have been as difficult, to have explain'd it, as that of lady *ROISIA*'s carving. But queen *Maud* made it on purpose for a public monument, and gave it to the church, where it happens to be preserv'd to this day. Lady *ROISIA* made her work, for a private monument, for none to see but herself, well acquainted with every figure, and the meaning she had, in making them.

In *June 1745*. I went down this venerable obscurity again, to compare my drawings with the originals, for Mr. *P*— finds fault with my prints, as not being justly taken; tho' at the same time, he copys them with all pretended faults. I had reason to wonder, that they wanted so little correction, as the candid reader will find, by comparing the impression in this, with the former book of my publication. For 'tis extremely difficult to draw a regular design, of the whole imagery, as I have done in my two plates. Because a few large candles afford but a very small degree of light, in so large a place. Whilst I nicely view'd the figure of *S. Laurence*, I discern'd upon his garment, two letters thus, *Vs* which I had not seen before. They seem to be the last letters of the name *Laurentius*, I observe the letters are exactly of the same manner, as those in the tapisstry of *Bayeux*: And there frequently, the letters are of different sizes, as here: which is a confirmation of my scheme.

I had not so easy a task to explain the history of this cell, for want of the letters, as in the tapisstry; but I attempted it, because I thought it merited it. What I wrote upon it, was done in a month's time, at *London*, and sent to the press. but since I have been so ill us'd for my endeavours, to amuse the public, I have taken more time, carefully to inquire into this affair, and every days consideration of it, confirms me in my former sentiments.

My intention therefore in this book is, to examine that of my opponents. And when I reflect upon the obvious and notorious intent I had, in what I first publish'd about it, I, and all the world, as far as I see, wonder, what spirit could possess the man, that wrote against it; especially in his manner. It must needs be acknowledg'd, that I wrote with an intent to amuse and entertain, and perhaps somewhat improve, those that pleased to read it. It was professedly a matter of conjecture, and all studys of this kind, for the most part, must needs be so. Suppose I were
mistaken,

mistaken, suppose he could have conjectur'd better than I, he might have publish'd it independently of my work : but I aver, he had no right to do it, in the manner he has done.

When he had surreptitiously obtain'd my prints : his next business was to find fault, with them, and every thing I had wrote, to explain 'em. His first and determin'd resolution was to deny and decry every thing I had wrote; to contradict every assertion, what I apprehended to be antient, he would have modern. What I thought of a later date, he will exalt it, to a high degree of antiquity : in a word, to affirm what I deny, and to deny what I affirm.

All this while he pretends not to go upon ordinary grounds of probabilitys, which are proper to these studys ; a laying of evidences together, in such a manner as they will bear, or require : but he proclaims 'em all *proofs* and *demonstrations*. He could not be content to take my prints for his own, but he has likewise transcrib'd nearly my whole book, and sold it for his own. He has copy'd both prints and book, merely for the sake of finding fault with them, and to swell his own. And if any thing can still possibly be worse, he has hit upon it, which is, treating me throughout his whole book with indecency.

We have no personal acquaintance together, and therefore some people would wonder at it. How without any provocation, one man should thus treat another. 'Tis not uncommon, for people of different studys, to despise those they are not addicted to. How comes it about, that one who seems to have a love for studys in antiquity, can't be civil to one of like turn ? It was not long, before I found out the source of all this malice, which I shall give from my learned friend bishop *Nicolson's English historical library*, p. 77.

" *Henry II*ds. long contests (says he) with the haughty archbishop
" *Becket*, gave occasion to vast numbers of writers to engage on both
" sides ; so that we have several pictures drawn of this king ; who is re-
" presented sometime as a god, and elsewhere as a devil ; according as
" the author favour'd the court of *England*, or of *Rome*.

Now *Henry II.* and his mother the *emprefs* were the great patrons of Lady *ROISIA*'s family ; and her family were firm adherents to the royal interests. I have interpreted the imagery of the *Roiston* oratory, to relate thereto. I have shewn *Henry II.*s picture therein twice, and his wives, queen *Elenor* ; I have spoke with respect of him. This has rais'd my adversariys choler : he will have it to be any body rather than *Henry II.* Moreover there is another figure in this oratory, which he says, is *Thomas a Becket* : but I have not acknowledg'd it, in that quality. All these are fundamental crimes, not to be forgiven. Therefore my book must be condemn'd by him, and his inquisitorial council ; as heterodox, and heretical.

Nevertheless I shall assume the liberty of answering for myself. But as I always wrote for the entertainment of the public ; I would endeavour to do it, in as agreeable a manner as I can : I would not be prolix, in that which is of no great importance ; nor even in that which is amusing.

Perusing my antagonist's book, I find 'tis of so inconsistent and contradictory a texture, that there appears no system in it. He endeavours to destroy mine, without substituting any thing regular in its stead. He leads the reader, thro' a tedious detail of fable and romance, without informing him of any thing worth notice. His ideas are so confus'd, that tho' nothing is more easy than to answer it, yet 'tis perplexing to do it in a method, fit for the readers perusal ; therefore to make amends for so much tedious disputation, I shall take opportunitys to add some matters pertinent, and of importance enough seasonably to releive him.



C H A P. II.

Parcius ; ista viris tamen objicienda memento. Virg.

The history of Roiston, the cross, and subterraneous crypt, agreeable to what all authors have hitherto wrote on the place. All rejected by Mr. P—— yet he offers no regular hypothesis. Our author answers him page by page. Demonstrations not easily found in antiquity matters. His proofs confuted. I. That the cross at Roiston is older than lady ROISIA. II. From the hundred court. III. His fundamental reason overthrown. A make-weight reason overballanced. Mr. P—— recommended to a Post.

I Have said somewhat of the occasion of this book ; I shall now open the cause, that is to be agitated between us. In the year 1742. they accidentally discover'd a subterraneous crypt, in the very center of the town of *Roiston* in *Hertfordshire* : under the very market-cross, close by the stump of an antient cross, which originally gave name to the town. At first, this town was called *Roises* cross, being built since the *Norman* times, as all authors agree, that ever wrote about it. Before then, this place was an open, uninhabited champaign, or chalk down, for grazing of sheep, like the *Wiltshire* and *Dorsetshire* plains ; cover'd with a most beautiful turf : the whole country being an intire body of chalk.

The cross was a large and tall obeliscal free stone, let into the foot-stool, a great rough stone remaining : the stones being fitted into one another, with mortaise and tenon, as the workmen speak. On the head of the obeliscal stone was a cap or capital, fitted on with like mortaise and tenon, on which was a crucifix carv'd, or the image of the virgin *Mary* and some other saints.

There

There were very many of these crosses formerly, set up, where several roads meet, and were design'd for directions to travellers, and to put them in mind of addressing themselves to God almighty, their most important business, in the journey of life. In this northern road, there is a very fine cross of this sort, remaining at *Newark upon Trent*, call'd *Beaumont's cross*. And there was a much finer one, in the middle of the market place, which they had indiscreetly inclos'd with a market house of timber. The mob at a late election for members of parliament, riotously burnt it down, and destroy'd the noble monument in the center, the cross of stone.

The *Roiston cross* I suppose, was destroy'd in some like foolish riot, or when over zealous people at the Reformation, or in the civil wars, pull'd down these monuments, thinking they were superstitious. It stood where the two famous old *Roman* roads cross each other, the hermen-street running north and south, the ikenil-street, passing it at almost right angles. This cross, by the concurrent relation of all authors, that ever examin'd this subject, was erected by a Lady of great eminence, whose name was *ROISIA* or *Robesia*, which is no other than our modern name of *Rose*; but it was a common name among our *Norman* ancestors. They all agree this was a lady of quality, tho' all, for want of sufficient inquiry, do not precisely tell us the person.

After sufficient care, I inform'd the reader in the first part of this work, who this Lady was, of her descent, fortune and family, of her husband's, children, her and their actions, as fully as was necessary to the purpose propos'd.

* The subterraneous crypt, which we are to dispute about, is in the ground belonging to this lady, being parcel of the manor of *Nusels*, hard by. 'Tis a round, bell-like concavity, dug under ground, in the solid chalk-cliff, about 20 foot diameter, 30 or 40 in height. The passage into it, is by a narrow perpendicular well, reaching about half way down; with holes cut in the sides oppositely, for the feet, like a ladder. For the rest, there was a ladder, as at present, to descend by. Round the bottom, is a broad circular *podium* or bench, going quite round, too broad and not high enough for a bench to sit on; therefore manifestly made for the purpose of prostration, in acts of devotion. This bench is cut off on

* T A B. I. Frontispiece.

thr

the east side for about the space of six foot, with a cavity, dug lower than the floor of the crypt; manifestly design'd for, and therefore, in my plate call'd, the grave.

All round the wall of this place, are cut in *basso relievo*, in the chalk, many figures of men, women, saints, crucifixes, &c. in the stile and habits of the time of the first Plantagenets, when our Lady *ROISIA* liv'd. These figures extend as high as a person that cut them, can reasonably reach.

Digging a hole in the ground, *anno 1742*. to set a post down, in the market cross, they came to a large millstone, which was laid over the perpendicular descent. They went down and discover'd the upper part of the bell-like form, but almost fill'd up with rubbish. they emptyed the place of the rubbish, in hopes of finding treasure. when they came to about the height of the carved figures, they found the remaining space to the very bottom, fill'd up with the purest garden mold; and in that, the corpse or skeleton of a woman; the scull of which I had in my hand, and well knew to be female.

When I had maturely examin'd and consider'd all the circumstances, and all the appearances of this affair, I thought I had good reason to pronounce this place an antient sepulchral chapel, made here before the town of *Rois-ton*, by lady *ROISIA*, who had set up the cross: intended for the place of her burial, and was so in fact; that it was *her* body found therein. The rottenness of the bones shew'd it had been interr'd there five or 600 Years. When I had drawn out the imagery and examin'd it, by the historians of the time, I found out the full purport of it, as in my former book, which I printed at the request of my friends, both in town and country, who express an intire satisfaction and approbation of it.

When I wrote it, I had not consulted the laborious and learned *Weavers* funeral monuments, from whence I shall transcribe what relates to our affair; both as 'tis a strong confirmation of my sentiments, and may be propos'd as the text or *thesis* for us to enlarge upon, in this dispute: p. 547. *Weaver*.

Roiston.

“ *Robesia* the daughter of *Aubrey de Vere*, chief justice of *England*, un-
 “ der *Henry I.* (sister to *Aubrey de Vere*, the first earl of *Oxford*, and
 “ wife to *Geffery Magnavilla*, or *Mandevil* the first earl of *Essex*) erected,
 “ where now this town of *Roiston* standeth, a cross in the highway, which
 “ was thought in that age, a pious work to put passengers in mind of
 “ Christ’s passion. Whereupon it was called *Crux Robesie*, before there
 “ was either church, or town. But afterwards, saith *Vincent*, out of the
 “ records in the tower, *Eustach de Merch*, knight, lord of *Nufels* in this
 “ tract, had adjoyned thereto, a little monastery of canons regular, in ho-
 “ nour of *St. Thomas* archbishop of *Canterbury*. then were innes built here.
 “ so that in process of time, by little and little, it grew to be a town,
 “ which instead of *Robesia*’s cross, was called *Robesia*’s town, and now
 contracted into *Roiston*.

“ This priory was augmented in her revenues, and renewed by *Ra-*
 “ *dolphus de Roucester* and others. *Richard I.* gives and confirms, *mona-*
 “ *sterio sancti Thome martyris, apud crucem Robesie, & canonicis ibidem,*
 “ *locum ipsum in quo idem monasterium fundatum est, cum pertinentijs suis,*
 “ *que Eustachius de Merc fundator ipsius monasterij, & Radulfus de Rou-*
 “ *cester, & alii fideles, rationabiliter dedere eis. Anno regni I. in arch.*
 “ *turris London, cart. antiq. R.*

Mr. *Weaver* who writes this, was a great master in our *English* anti-
 quitys, of infinite diligence in searching records, and of good judgement.
 He had the most extensive acquaintance, with all the antiquarys of his
 time, who were very free in communications to him. He had full liberty
 of inspecting all the records, in the tower, in the augmentation office, the
 rolls, the heralds office, Sir *Robert Cotton*’s immense library; he had the
 collections of *Augustin Vincent*, *Windser* herald, and keeper of the tower
 records; of Sir *Henry Spelman* and Mr. *Selden*; Sir *Simon Dews*; Sir
Richard, and Sir *Henry St. George*; *John Philpot*, and *William la Neve*,
York herald, and to say all Mr. *Camden*. Therefore what he writes, must
 be of authority, and with his sentiments about the matter in hand, mine
 coincide.

I shall make some short remarks upon what I quoted from him. He
 says

says our Lady *ROISIA* erected her cross here; before there was either church or town. Then he shews, from the records in the tower, that *Eustace de Merc*, lord of *Nufels*, built his monastery here, before there was any town, and apparently, on account of Lady *ROISIA*'s cross. he built the monastery on this spot of ground, for the sake of the cross. All this is agreeable to my notions. Both *that* and the hospital were the consequents of the spirit of religion which *ROISIA* excited in the place, as I said, in the conclusion of my book: But it was not the cross only, the work of this pious lady, but her sepulchral chapel also, which she had for a tract of years made her occasional oratory, that excited Sir *Eustace de Merc* her successor in *Nufels*, no doubt an acquaintance and admirer of her virtues, to found his monastery here, at her cross; and on account of her being buried here. at which solemnity, we may reasonably suppose, he was an assistant, and probably chief agent. A cross was look'd upon as holy ground; and frequently in old times, set up on purpose for religious people, to commemorate in their prayers, people there inter'd; whether in a civil or a military way. Sometime, it was set up before interment, sometime after.

Again I remark, from the words of the charter, of the foundation of the monastery, which he quotes, *locum ipsum in quo idem monasterium fundatum est*, the scite of the monastery; that the monastery was then in building. This was in the year 1189, the first of *Richard I.* Lady *ROISIA* being then newly dead, and interred here.

All that I wrote concerning this affair is exactly agreeable to what appears on records, and to what all authors have said about *Roiston*. It was professedly matter of conjecture, we cannot otherwise write on such things. 'Tis a regular and consistent account, in a plain manner decyphering the intire imagery of her sepulchral chapel, in matters of history, relating to her family and the times, and circumstances of things, she liv'd in. 'Tis every whit as pertinently done, as queen *Maud*'s tapisstry above-mention'd, is explain'd by the running title, along the upper-part of the tapisstry. Lady *ROISIA* did not think fit to write the names of persons of the figures; she had no need to do it, being for her own use, who knew well what she meant by them. Therefore beyond all reasonable dispute, there is the highest degree of probability that is possible, that my *hypothesis* is just, and well founded. If Mr. P—— had a mind to offer

offer other conjectures to the publick, he might have done it without regarding me, at least without abusing me: without an *answer* to me, as he calls it, who never wrote of him, or to him : as being a stranger to him.

Then might the world have judg'd of the two conjectures, and chose which they lik'd ; if they had thought fit to have read 'em both. or if he was resolv'd to draw my name in ; yet he might have done it in a manner that would have become a gentleman. when he look'd over *Horace* for his unmeaning motto, he overlook'd this,

— *si quid novisti rectius istis,*
candidus imperti — a man may impart his own opinion, with candour and civility to all others. assuredly ill manners will suit no cause ; but 'tis unpardonable, in a brother conjecturer.

Now in answer to my book, Mr. *P* — denies all that I or any body else have wrote, concerning *Roiston* in general, or this subterraneous crypt in particular. He says, *Roiston* is an old town ; a saxon town ; he says, the cross is of saxon antiquity. He banishes lady *ROISIA* out of being. He allows this to have been a chapel, but that it was a hermitage chapel ; and still that it was a public chapel, much frequented by travellers ; that there were no less than five altars at the place, that there were one or more religious gilds or fraternities held here : that many great and noble personages were benefactors to it, and were buried there : and that these pictures generally represent the benefactors.

This is the best general account I could draw up, of his *hypothesis*, from his book, which from the confusion of his ideas, is as contradictory to itself, as to me ; to the plain reason of things : to all writers and authority whether antient or modern. The fable of *Æsop* may fitly be apply'd here, of the man who had two wives, plucking off his hairs alternately, till he was quite bald.

What I and other writers make antient, he declares modern, and *e contra* ; nay he make the same things both antient and modern. and I think no body that has ever seen the place, and looks over his account of it, but must immediately see the absurdity and impossibility of his ac-

count. therefore I judge, the best way I can take to answer him, is to follow him page by page, as he has form'd his book into no system. When I have refuted him, I will make a recapitulation of my own account, with some additional evidences, tending to confirm it.

" P. 4. Mr. P—— gives *reasons by way of proof*, to shew, that there was
 " a cross, with an hermit's cell and oratory annexed, in the town of *Roifon*, long before the time of the lady *Roisia*. And here he shall occasionally and by the way *demonstrate*, that part of the figures in the said
 " oratory, ascribed by Dr. *Stukely*, to be the work of that lady, is without *shew* of truth or foundation.

This is, what we may call his text, or general challenge. I shall first dissect and divide it, by way of comment, to shew what *reasons by way of proof* and *demonstrations*, we are to expect in the progress of this work. A great antiquary this, that deals so confidently, with *reasons by way of proof*, in these matters, which confessedly, in the main, amount only to conjectures, well laid together : the nature of these studys requiring and admitting no more. Not only so, " but he will by the way *demonstrate*
 " that *part* of the figures in the said oratory ascribed by Dr. S—— to be
 " the work of that lady, is without any *shew* of truth or foundation.

By *part of the figures*, we ought to infer, that he grants, lady *Roisia* had made some of the work. Whether he grants it or no, we must grant, that he has undertaken an arduous piece of work, to demonstrate a negative. He first began, O courteous reader! to introduce mathematical certainty into the science of antiquitys! and further, will *demonstrate*, that which is much more difficult than even squaring the circle. Now in order to accomplish his promise, 'tis incumbent on him, to produce plain and indisputable proof and record, of the very person, who did cut those figures, which lady *Roisia* did not : this I leave him to do against a new edition of his book.

Our author now goes formally to prove ; that there was a cross, much more antique, than the time of lady *Roisia*, with an hermites cell and oratory annex'd, in the town of *Roifon*.

'Tis confess'd on all hands, that this town was first call'd *Roises* cross. Our author owns it, pa. 35. and 36. where he quotes the name of the convent *de cruce Rokeys*, from old deeds. And we ought to confess, that he is a bold man indeed, that will dare to prove, *Roises* cross antienter than *Roisia* who erected it. Nor does he point out any other *Roisia* that did it. But to shew how fearless our champion is against lady *Roisia*, he will shew likewise, that there was an hermites cell in the very town of *Roiston*: he asserts, at the same time, that *Roiston* was a town all this while, and much antienter, than *Camden*, *Weaver*, *Chauncy*, *Salmon*, and twenty other authors unanimously agree.

The hermites of all antiquity till now, sought out solitary, barren, heathy, rocky deserts, impassable fens, crags and mountains, horrid and uncultivated. Does not the very name import a wilderness? but our author's hermites very politely chose a *poulous* town, and the very center, the market place of that town. *populous*

With solitude what sorts, that here's not wondrous rife?
Wherein the hermit leads a sweet, retired life
From villages replete with ragg'd and sweating clowns
And from the lothsom air of smoky, cityed towns.

Drayton's polyeb. p. 217.

Again, Mr. P—— so well vers'd in nature, and in the art of *reasoning* and *demonstration* will not allow, that *part* of the figures cut in our oratory, ascribed by Dr. S—— to lady *Roisia*, has any *shew* of truth or foundation.

I appeal to all the world, when I have given a regular, uniform, consistent and historical account of the antiquity we write about, of every part and figure in it, with the names of all the persons, and the dates when, the purposes why they were cut, by our lady *ROISIA*: the whole in a way very easy and natural, I appeal, I say, to the world, to judge, whether there is not a *shew* at least, of truth and foundation for my account?

No person serious, would easily deny this, unless he could produce authentic evidence and record of those that did it, by name, and when. A man that wrote modestly, might pretend to give better reasons, than I have done, a more regular, uniform, consistent and historical account,
and

and we should hear him: if it was matter of importance sufficient. So far by way of prelude.

But let us proceed to the work, and examine these weighty *reasons*, *proofs*, and *demonstrations*, which he has insisted against us.

Mr. P——'s I. *reason*, *proof* and *demonstration*, that the cross here is much more antique, than the time of lady Roisia: pa. 4.

"First, it was a practise in the *Saxon* times (and good authority maintains, even in the *British* times) to erect crosses, on great public roads, especially on that spot and angle where such great roads met, and crossed each other, as in the case before us. This he says, is granted by me: quoting my words, "it was in the *Saxon* times, a very usual thing, for religious people, to set up these monuments, called crosses, by highway sides, and especially where several roads met, and he instances, says Mr. P—— in one called high cross in *Northamptonshire*, where two roads cross each other, the *Foss* and the *Watling street*. Many like instances might be produc'd, but as this is granted by the Dr. I proceed to another reason, which testifies the antiquity of this cross.

Thus I have transcrib'd his I *reason*, *proof* and *demonstration*: to give the reader a specimen of our antiquarian Euclids demonstrations. The reader, no doubt, with me, will be surpriz'd, when he inquires, whereabouts lyes the formidable proof? all that he has said about this proof, is taken from my book. If then it had any proof in it, we ought to conclude, he has made me eat my own words, if not, my own book: for that I must have egregiously contradicted my self. But I deny, either that I have contradicted my self; or that here is any thing, which in any wise *proves* the point in debate.

'Tis true indeed, that I had said, in *Saxon* times, the christians set up frequently crosses, where great roads met. But did I infer from thence, that there was a cross at *Roiston*, in *Saxon* times: or that it was absolutely necessary, there should be one wherever great roads met? for want of being able to prove this himself, he would fain deceive the reader, by a suggestion, that I had prov'd it for him.

Then

Then he gravely tells us, good authority maintains, even in the *British* times, they set up the like crosses. This too, he borrows from me, tho' he disguises it. For assuredly, he would never allow any thing of mine, to be good authority. I had said in my book, p. 4. that the custom of setting up these kind of monuments, called crosses (as it seems to me) might have been deduced from Druid times. for they set up an obeliscal stone, as a kebla, whereto to turn their faces, in their devotions : which was intirely of the same nature as these crosses.

All this may be very true, but I ask Mr. P—— how this *proves*, here was a cross at *Roiston* before lady *Roisa*? I recited it as a general position, introductory to what I was to write upon the subject, and he nails it down to a particular. Because the *Saxons* set up crosses, and the *Druids* keblas ; therefore *Roiston* cross was set up, much earlier than lady *Roisa*. a very pretty conclusion this!

Further I argue. if by *British times*, he means, the heathen britons, 'tis absurd and ridiculous ; if he means, that the christians, used to set up these crosses ; I desire he would prove it, shew what authors tell us so, where such crosses are to be found? and if he does this, what relates it to the cross at *Roiston*? it by no means *proves*, what he undertook, that there was a cross at *Roiston*, before lady *ROISIA*. So that in his I. weighty *reason, proof* and *demonstration*, there does not appear to be one grain of proof at all. I have in a whole book declared who built this cross and when, what was the person's name and family, her father, mother, brothers, sisters, husbands, children ; her acts, life and death ; history, agreeable to all antient records and authors ; her name remaining at the place from the beginning, to this day. An author arises to blow it all away, in half a dozen meager lines ; that are nothing at all to the purpose : not so much as the evanescent specter of an argument.

Our author gives three of these sort of reasons ; we have seen one, as a specimen of his logic. The next is thus. p. 5.

II. His second argument is taken from the hundred court being kept here. " The origin of hundreds was from *Alfred*, the *Saxon* king, who " reigned from 872 to 901. They often took their names from some remarkable cross within the same ; and the hundred court was held at the said

said cross. He gives instances of these matters, which I need not repeat; and concludes, " that the jury in the 4th of *Edward II.* found, that *Gilbert de Clare*, earl of *Gloucester* and *Hertford*, with *Johanna* his wife, " held a three weeks court at *Royfes* cross: which proves the antiquity " of this cross, and that the hundred court had been held here, from " its first establishment, in the time of *Alfred*, when there was, *no doubt* " a cross here.

This is the entire substance and full force of his II. proof or demonstration, which is exactly of a piece with his first. I told him, in my book, of that passage of *Gilbert de Clare* keeping a three weeks court here, in my last page. And this according to his custom, he turns against me, thinking to overthrow me, with my own battery. I only quoted it, to shew the early name of *Royfes* cross, viz. in *Edward. II.* time. But it seems this is not early enough for him: he brings it to prove the hundred court was kept here in king *Alfred's* time, when he says, *no doubt*, there was a cross here.

This is agreeable to his method of proving things. Because a three week's court was held here in *anno 1311.* therefore a county court was kept here in *Alfred's* time, 400 years before: and then *no doubt*, there was a cross here. Never was such a syllogism produc'd before the publick! from whence no conclusion can be drawn; assuredly not what he wants.

In the first place he should have prov'd, that *Roiston* was the head of the hundred, where the hundred courts always were kept; that there was a cross here in king *Alfred's* time, called *Royfes* cross; that the hundred was so nominated from it; that a hundred court and a court-leet were the same thing: but these notoriously are not facts. There is no such thing as *Royfes* cross hundred: the place of meeting for hundred courts, was about the middle of the hundred: this is the very limit, between two or three different hundreds, and two different countys, and four or five parishes, the most improper spot, in all *England*, for him to have pitcht upon for this purpose. *Barkway, Tharfield, Knejsworth, Basingbourn,* and *Melburn* parishes all join here. And were a hundred court and a three weeks court the same thing (tho' they are far different) yet a record of *Ed. II.* time, will not prove a thing in king *Alfred's* time. A

three weeks court is a matter of private property of a lord of the fee: a county court or hundred court relates to the public business of that great division. the one is held by the possessor of the estate, the other was held by the bishop, the earl or alderman; the one to recognize such as owe suit to a lord; the other to hear and determine judicially, matters of controversy, between party and party. But supposing these things were not different, it would not prove, what he has undertaken to prove, that there was a cross here in *Alfred's* time. nor was it necessary, a cross should be where a hundred court was kept, much less where a three week's court was kept. and were he even able to prove that, could we thence conclude, that this was the case of *Roises* cross. So that after all this flourish of his weapons, he drops his point with these words, *The hundred court had been held here from its first establishment in the time of Alfred, when there was no doubt, a cross here.*

This is his *quod erat demonstrandum*; no doubt, here was a cross here. we have no doubt to say, that he has not prov'd one tittle of what he undertook: and the whole he has given us, like his foregoing reason, is no more to the purpose, than if he had read us a page out of the golden legend. but I have reason to conclude, that it does not, in the least, appear, either that there was any hundred court kept here, or that there was any town here, or any cross at all, much less *Roises* cross, in *Saxon* times: but quite the contrary.

Our champion produces a III. reason, as he calls it, to prove the high antiquity of the cross: of lady *Roisia's* cross, before lady *Roisia's* time. This he deduces from the foundation of the priory of *Roiston*. This must be own'd to be a deep reason. In order to found it, he asserts a fallacy, viz. that I maintain, that lady *Roisia* set up the cross here, about the end of the reign of king *Henry II.* " Now, says he, the priory of *Roiston* being " founded between 1170 and 1180, it could not take the stile and title " of *de cruce Robey's*. There could not possibly be any length of time, to " make the said cross of such known eminency and repute, as that the " priory should take its stile and title from it. this would be to set forth " an *ignotum per ignotius*. So that 'tis both just and reasonable to con- " clude, that the cross was of remarkable antiquity. and that it was " founded long before, the time of our author's lady *Roisia*: even in the " *Saxon* age.

Mr.

Mr. P—— can't be content to take a score or two of years, to make our cross eminent enough, to denominate the priory: but he requires some hundreds, A priory built at the end of *Henry II.* time could not be nam'd from the cross, unless that cross was made in king *Alfred's* time. Where is the reason and consequence of all this? a familiar instance without any more words will shew the absurdity of this reasoning. the new church in the *Strand*, was built about 20 years ago. Suppose a friend of mine lodges over against the new church in the *Strand*: would it be ridiculous, should I direct to him there, because this church has not been built two or three hundred years, whereby it should acquire celebrity enough and antiquity enough, for such a direction? so far is the contrary, that it has been call'd the new church in the *Strand*, for these 20 years. Nor would his argument be of any force, was he right in his assertion, but it is built on a false representation. I have no where said, that lady *Reisa* built her cross, at the latter end of *Henry II.* reign;

male verum examinat omnis corruptus judex——

Hor.

So far from that, that p. 45. I expressly say, she enter'd on her retirement occasionally, at this her sepulchral chapel, about 1170. which is a score of years before *Henry II.* death. p. 47 of my book, I suggest, that by degrees and in after times, from the founding of the cross, she caused a cell, or little house to be built at the place, where the cross was: and then, the catacomb to be dug in the pure chalk. So that its evident, my meaning was, that she erected the cross, years before her retirement at *Nusells*, after the death of her second husband. the estate of *Nusells* was her first husband's, so that she had been in possession of it, from about the year 1130. at which time I conjecture was her first marriage. She might then build the cross 50 years before the end of *Henry II.* reign, the false assumption of Mr. P—— and fifty years is abundantly sufficient, or even half that time, to give an eminency to a cross, built by a great lady, in an open, uninhabited champaign, as this country certainly then was: or there would have been no occasion for the cross.

Besides, it well became the founders of the priory, who held their estates under her, at least by the gift of her predecessors, by that kind of tenure which our ancestors called boke-land, to denominate it from the cross of so great a lady: a lady to them; lady paramount of their manor. both *Eustace de Merc's* ancestor, and *Ralf de Roucester's* father *Thomas* had their estates in *Nusells*, given them by *Eudo Dapifer*. nor could they

well give it any other name ; there being nothing remarkable besides, upon that spot, to name it from. All this would be still much stronger from my supposition, of her frequenting this place for her devotions ; of her making the sepulchral chapel in the chalk under ground ; of her being buried there. This being where two very great roads met, could not fail of acquiring a celebrity sufficient to denominate the place ; and the monastery, built at the end of *Henry II.* time : without having recourse to king *Alfred's* time. but our author's spectacles admit of no medium, they must needs make objects to him appear, as either too near at hand, or at too great a distance, to write intelligibly about them.

And thus have we gone through his three herculean reasons. Let us rest then, notwithstanding what he has said to the contrary, in the old notions concerning this place ; that there was no cross till lady *ROISIA* erected one, and then there was no town, not a house on the spot. After her death, when the priory was founded, inns began to be built. This is what *Camden*, *Weaver*, *Chauncy*, *Salmon* and all other authors affirm, that ever wrote upon the place.

From pretended reasons and demonstrations, *Mr. P*— plays a small game, p. 9. by way of overplus, he adds, our antiquary here, “ says he, “ has run himself into difficulties, out of which it will not be easy to extricate himself. He fixes the death of lady *Roisia* and that of king “ *Henry II.* to the year 1189, and says, the priory was built immediately “ after her death, and on account of her living here ; and adds, it was a “ compliment to king *Henry II.* to dedicate the monastery to *Thomas a Becket* : as the king himself had done by *Waltham* abby.

His lean argument is this, the priory could not be dedicated to *Becket*, as a compliment to the king, because, probably, the king was dead before the priory was founded. and then with intolerable dissingenuity, he affirms, that I say, king *Henry II.* encourag'd this priory at *Roiston*. the whole is dissingenuity, he makes me say what he pleases, by wresting my words and misinterpreting my meaning, and then argues from them.

First he affirms a falsity, that I fix'd the death of lady *Roisia* and the death of king *Henry II.* to the year 1189. on the contrary, p. 48. I say expressly, I can't fix the year she dyed in ; but apprehend, her death and the building of the priory, must fall about the end of king *Henry's* reign ;

reign ; that the priory was begun, either in Lady *Roisia's* life time, or exceeding near it. and this is all that any body can say about it, and unquestionably is near the truth. he ought to be laught at, for his unaccurate way of writing, that I fix'd the death of king *Henry II.* to the year 1189. as if it were a problem : when so great a king dy'd ?

Again he affirms another falsity, that I make king *Henry II.* an encourager of the building this priory at *Roiston.* this he gathers (and he alone could be disingenuous enough to gather it, and impose upon the reader) from my words, p. 51.

“ Lady *ROISIA's* piety at this place, did not end with her life,
 “ but immediately after, her successors in *Newfel's* mannor, founded the
 “ priory, close to her cell and cross. It had canons regular, and was de-
 “ dicated to *Thomas a Becket*, as then was the *fashion* : for king *Henry II.*
 “ very much encourag'd it. He chang'd the old foundation of *Waltham*
 “ abby, for canons regular, and rededicated it, to *Thomas a Becket.*

He notoriously misinterprets my words. my meaning manifestly was, (and the grammatical construction of my words ascertains it) that king *Henry II.* encourag'd the *fashion* of dedicating churches and religious houses to *Thomas a Becket* : and he makes me to mean, that king *Henry II.* encourag'd the priory at *Roiston.* I have spoken of this whole affair, as it becomes an antiquary, with modesty, where we have no positive evidence or record ; I make such a reasonable approach to times, as can be expected. He writes with chicanery. I ask, where is the absurdity of my saying, it was a compliment to *Henry II.* to dedicate a church to *Thomas a Becket*, at the very end of his reign ? nay tho' he were actually dead. There were monasterys and churches dedicated to *Thomas a Becket* in *Richard I.* time. and still it would not be improper, to say, they were so dedicated in compliment to *Henry II.* King *Richard* dedicated a church in the holy land to *Becket.* nay *Favin* tells you, he instituted an order there, of knights of *S. Thomas.* and their ensign was a white escallop upon a red cross. was not this a compliment to his father ? they that know common manners or common modes of speech, must allow it.

But further, I say, it might be a compliment to the King to dedicate a priory to *Thomas a Becket*, tho' the king was dead, which they at *Newfel's* might be ignorant of. Suppose they founded the priory in 1188.

or in the spring of the year, 1189. the V. ides of *July* 1188. the king went over sea, to oppose the perpetual disquietudes which the *French* king gave him, and he never return'd again. The continuation of the history of *Croyland*, 1189. informs us, a false rumer was spread, in *England*, that the king was dead, beyond sea; which might hinder the people from believing the truth, when first reported. 'Tis not at all improbable, that the actual dedication might be, when the king was dead, and they not acquainted with it. for posts and conveyances of news was then not so regular and expeditious, as now. But supposing even the utmost that our antagonist can desire, that king *Richard* was actually in the throne, and in *England*, when the priory was founded; there is no impropriety in saying, it was done in compliment to *Henry* II. any more than in honour to *Thomas a Becket*. The words compliment and honour being of the same import.

P. 10. Mr. P—— says, "because king *Henry* II. rededicated the abby " of *Waltham* in 1177. therefore 'tis reasonable to think, the priory of " *Roiston* was founded at that time," this he says to contradict me: for there cannot possibly be the least consequence. He might as well say, that because *Henry* II. founded a magnificent abby in *Dublin*, call'd *Thomas Court*, in memory of *Becket*: therefore the priory of *Roiston* was then and there founded.

Then he proceeds to argue, from king *Richard*'s charter to the priory of *Roiston*, wherein the king grants them a fair and weekly market, according to the libertys of the markets and fairs granted to the canons of *Dunstable*. "If then, says he, the priory of *Roiston* was founded in 1189. "and that immediately upon the erecting of it, the town of *Roiston* arose, "give me leave to congratulate him in the name of all that good town- "ship, in thus erecting in the space of a few months, so goodly a town, as "this must be allowed to be, thus qualified for a weekly market, and an "annual fair, for a whole week, which supposes it to be a place of con- "course, and trade, capable of good reception, and all this to have sprung "up, in the space of a few months, from the death of *Roisia* in 1189, to "the date of king *Richard*'s charter, *november* 9. in the said year. Such "an architect as this, must merit to be in commission for the *Georgia* co- "lony, or the bridge of *Westminster*.

A genuine

A genuine piece of scarronade and buffoonry this, as void of reason, as good manners! as before, so now, he founds his argument on a falsity, and argues from it. He makes me to say, that I fix the death of *Roisia* in 1189. which I no where do, only suggest, that it was about the end of *Henry II.* reign; therefore 'tis as likely to be in 1188. But as to his argument deduc'd from king *Richard's* charter of market and fair granted to the priory: if he had understood old customs, or the nature of things, he would have seen, that it proves directly against his purpose. for granting a market and fair, does by no means prove it a place of concourse and trade, capable of good reception; but rather quite the contrary. for had it been so goodly a town, it would certainly have had markets and fairs before. The truth is, these privileges were obtain'd, in order to make places populous; and it was an usual custom, for religious houses to seek for them, to obtain this end. Do we not know, such grants for fairs are made to open, uninhabited fields, where there is not one single house? for instance *Sturbick* fair near *Cambridge*, held for a fortnight with an immense concourse of people: and in *Lincolnshire*, *Stowgreen* fair, as much frequented for one day: *Waybill* fair, *S. Anns* hill fair, in *Wiltshire*, *Boughton* green, *Northamptonshire*, and many more kept upon open downs,

Observe further from king *Richard's* charter to the priory of *Roiston*, wherein the king grants them a fair and a weekly market, according to the libertys of the markets and fairs granted to the canons of *Dunstable*. In Mr. *Camden's Britannia* p. 289. best edit. 1695. we learn, our kings grandfather *Henry I.* built a house at *Dunstable*, and the priory and the town. Therefore he granted his charter of markets and fairs to the canons there, in order to make it a populous town, just as king *Richard* did, to the canons of *Roiston*: not because they were populous towns, as Mr. *P——* wildly imagines. it is exactly a parallel case. and *Dunstable* standing on the interfection of the *Watlinstreet* and *Ikenilstreet*: as *Roiston* on the *Hermenstreet*, and *Ikenil*, they both soon became considerable towns, therefrom.

I ought gratefully to acknowledge his kind favour toward me, in thinking I merit to be in commission for *Georgia* colony, or the bridge of *Westminster*. in return I think he highly deserves a Post; to be historiographer to the wooden bridge at *Putney*.

C H A P.



C H A P. III.

*Ingeniis non ille favet, plauditque sepultis.
nostra sed impugnat, nos, nostraque lividus odit. Hor.*

Mr. P——s IV. reason obliterated, Roisia a common name, now a critical one. His hermitage in the middle of a town. The Beauchamp arms illuminated. The origin of coat-armor. The beginning of the croisades. The figure of Hugh de Beauchamp defended, by arms.

MR. P—— gives us a IV. reason, for the antiquity of *Roisies* cross. p. 11. This he does from the very fountain of criticism: in this manner.

“ The name of it, *Robeys* or *Robeyfia*, *Roisia*, (or as our antiquary says) plain *Rose* in English, cannot answer to *Robeys* or *Robefia*: there seems to be something of British or Saxon derivation in the name. At the bottom of the page, he adds this profound note. Probably some old British or Saxon saint, on this Erminstreet, near to a place call’d, *Roheyney* or *Roheenya*, founded by Conan, duke of Britany and Richmond.

This is the whole of our author’s IV. reason. but was ever any thing like it offer’d seriously to the public, which amounts to nothing more, than his *ipse dixit*, and *there seems to be something*, he knows not what. and this is sufficient ground for his writing *an answer to, or remarks on, &c.*

“ *Robeys* cross or *Robeyfia*, says he, cannot answer to *Robeys* or *Robefia*. but *there seems to be something of British or Saxon derivation in the name*. What a knack has he for etymology! probably some old British or Saxon saint, *Roheeney* or *Roheenya*. I answer; all the world knows, that *Roisia*, was a very common feminine appellation, in these times we are

are writing of, *that* of the Plantagenets of *Anjou*: for instance. *Roisia* daughter of *Berengar*, king of *Lombardy*, wife of *Arnold II.* earl of *Flanders*. From these our lady *Roisia* descended. *Roisia* wife of *Eudo Dapifer*, from whom her husband *Mandevile* is descended. *Rosa* wife of *Everard de Ros*, daughter of *William Trusbut*. *Roisia* wife to *Richard de Lucy*, our lady's relation. *Roisia* his daughter married to *Fulbert de Dover* of *Chilham*. *Roisia* daughter of *Gilbert Bland* wife of *Robert de Valons*. *Camd.* p. 369. *Roisia* wife of *Richard Fitzgilbert de Clare*. *Roisia* his daughter married to *Gilbert de Grant*, who founded *Rufford* abbey 1148. These are progenitors of lady *ROISIA*'s son in law *Fitzwooth*. Innumerable more to be met with; but thus am I oblig'd to be tedious, to overthrow unreasonable assertions! when I have shewn (in conjunction with all authors that have wrote upon the place) who this lady was, her father, mother, brothers, sister's, husband's, children, &c. and the history of their actions, as far as was necessary, and that she owned this very estate, and that she made the cross here: now comes Mr. P—— with his admirable *acumen*, and smells out, with a *there seems to be*, that she was a *Saxon* or *British* saint. I wonder he did not find her in the golden legend, by some fine stroke of criticism. But must plain historical evidence be blown away with such whimsical surmises, for which he has not the least shew of foundation? this is our author's method of writing. and that I may clear off the dirt he has thrown on me, I am oblig'd to follow him in this dirty road: and if any sticks on him, he must thank himself for it. He thinks there is somewhat very mysterious in the word *Robeys*, and therefore he fixes a circumflex over it, as a most remarkable affair. He sees a vision of saint *Rokeenia*, made from the little village of *Rowney*, 15 miles off, and a mile out of this same *Hermensfreet* way. This saint *Rokeenia* of *British* or *Saxon*, original of his own making, is suffered to quit purgatory for a while, and become the foundress of *Roiston*. whilst that real and good lady *Roisia*, is quite discarded from that honour, and from her very being: this is the part of a critical distinguisher, who can make any person for any person. 'tis a shame to pursue this any farther.

We have done with his IV. doughty reasons, which are no better than his *ægri semnia*, delirious dreams. Now p. 12. he begins to talk of the cell and oratory; and fills his book with pages quoted out of mine, I cannot follow his example, of transcribing his: having an utter aversion to such

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malevolence. Therefore I shall put his objections in a fair and short light, and answer 'em as concisely as possible. They are all of a piece with what is gone before : I need not be prolix.

P. 13. from cells and their oratorys annexed, being in *Saxon* times (as his method is) he infers or *proves*, that our sepulchral chapel at *Roifston*, was in *Saxon* times. just as before he had prov'd ; because there were crosses and towns in *Saxon* times, therefore, here was a cross and town at *Roifston*, in *Saxon* times. the logicians say, *a posse ad esse non valet argumentum*. He says too, this may reasonably be allowed, from the very name of that capital mannor of *Neucells* : as he affects to spell it, the more to favour his notion. Can any thing more absurd enter into our imagination, than that the capital mannor and mansion of *Neufels* (as it ought to be wrote) which is two miles off, should take its name from our subterraneous chapel here at *Roifston*? and yet he says, p. 14. This is a proof of our sepulchral chapel being many ages, before our lady *Roifia*. by the same far fetcht reason he proves our chapel the *heremitagium de Barkway* three miles off. Indeed all his proofs are *quidlibet ex quolibet*, conclusions from dissonant premisses, that have no relation to the thing in debate. I look'd over the original liedger book, of the priory, a velum manuscript. *There* it is always written *Neufels* : *Newfelys*, *Neufeles*. it means in old *French*, *New-hall*.

“ Then he says, some one or more hermit (as the road and thoroughfare here was so great) was here *station'd*, to be always at hand, ready to attend on travellers, which must undoubtedly be an office, more becoming to and more becoming, some religious man and hermit, than any religious woman, or lady *Roifia* whatever.

Here he runs into that miserable absurdity, of making our chapel a common hermit's cell, not of a solitary and single, but of many jolly laughing hermits, then which nothing can be more absurd. Absurd in *hypothesis*, to place a hermit's cell or chapel in the midst of a great town ; hermits to wait in a great thoroughfare, to make this well frequented by travellers who went down here, with their boots and spurs and great coats in numbers, as he would have it, to say their prayers. He himself believes the present passage to be an original one, and the way for common people going down to this chapel : a slender woman indeed may with dexterity and

and use, descend into it: but with what sense can he think a concourse of people went up and down it? and then he gravely tells the reader, a hermit or two officiated here, for the use of the travellers, with more decency, than our lady *ROISIA*. As if I had insinuated any such office. As if I had not all along maintain'd, that our lady did it for her private use, and for the place of her interment. But to sum up all, our author among all his old reading, ought to know, that they would not suffer publick service to be said, in these oratorys, so near a church. See Mr. *Lewis's Thanes*. p. 81.

P. 15. After we have had a great deal of our authors *proofs*, he now resumes a *demonstration*, that lady *Roisia* had no part in carving one particular piece of imagery therein, which is the figure I have mark'd n^o. I. in my III. table, with the coat of arms; which I say, represents *Hugh de Beauchamp*, the father of our lady's second husband. This he does, by an artifice he has made use of before now, running me into fancied absurditys. but they are absurditys only for want of his understanding them, or for want of honesty to own it. I shall clear up this matter, and sufficiently overthrow his demonstration in proper place, when I treat of this figure, in ix. cap. But we may remark his odd way of writing, saying, p. 16. that I *fix* the *jerusalem* peregrinations to the year 1177. and quotes 33d. of my pages, at bottom to prove it. which page does not relate to it. and the *Croisades* are *æra's* too remarkable, to require my fixing them.



C H A P. IV.

— *juvat immemorata ferentem*
ingenuis oculisque legi, manibusque teneri. Hor.

Four pretended errors of dates rectify'd. Mr. P—s real ones detected. His divinity skill. His architectonic. The heremitagium de Barkway fictitious. A disputation about Roises cross again. His notion of Downham hermitage erroneous. S. Pega's cell at Croyland, the origin of the universitys of Cambridge and Stamford. Of the city Granta. Of the city Durobrivis. Of the Roman navigation through our fens. Erith hermitage by Ely.

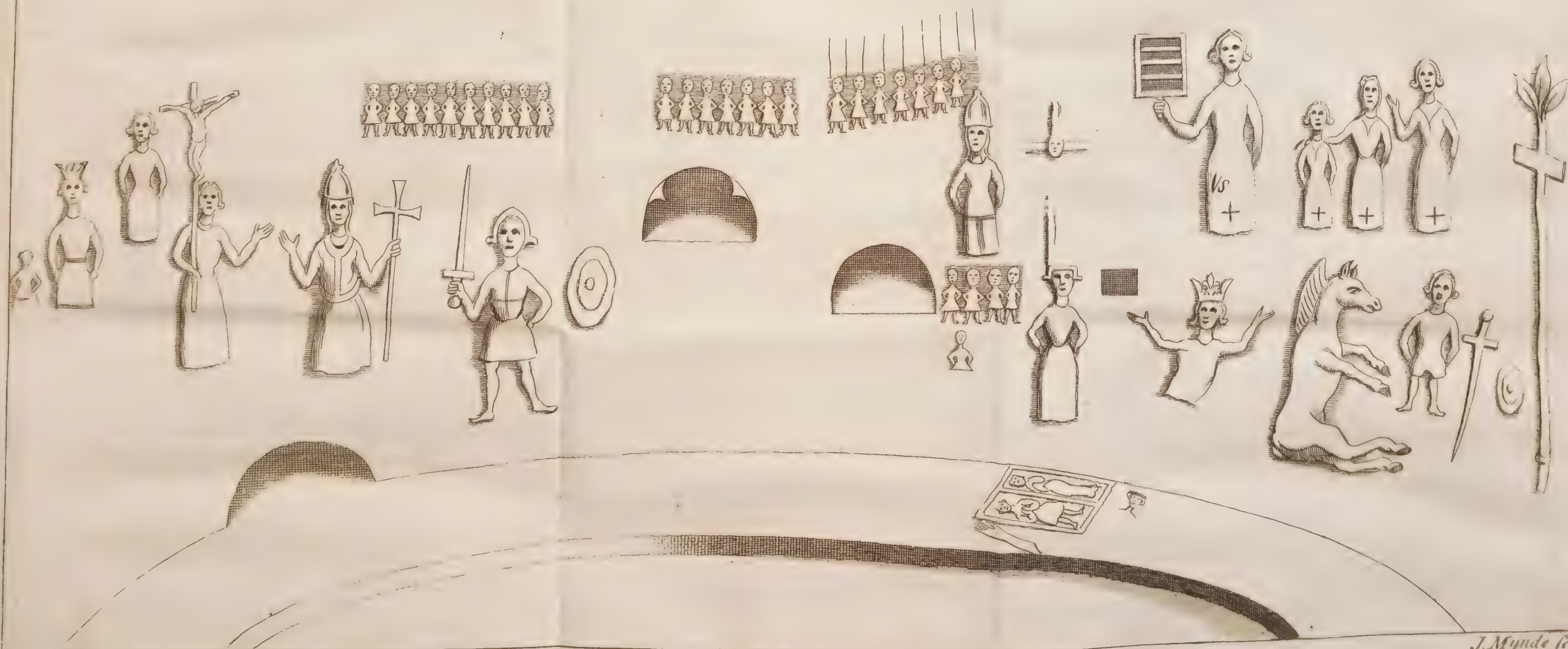
WE have in the II. preceding chapters (if I be not mistaken) sufficiently overthrown my antagonists IV. fundamental *reasons*, and *proofs*. They are intended to shew the high, the *Saxon*, or *British* antiquity of *Roiston* town, cross and hermitage, as he calls our sepulchral chapel. all these we have shewn to be errant chimæras.

I made lady *ROISIA* a person of good sense and disposition; who for near 20 years before her death, meditated on, and look'd toward that great change; by preparing the place of her interment, making it the scene of her frequent retirement and devotion. Mr. P— makes her a saint of higher antiquity, any thing rather than what I assert. And I assert nothing but wherein I have the express concurrence of multitudes of authors; all authors that ever wrote upon the town, who had the best qualifications and opportunitys of finding out the truth, and without difference agree with one another, and I with them.

Mr. P— is the jsmael of all champions and combats the world. but I have thrown down his foundations, I might reasonably hope my work is over.

The south side of Lady ROISIA'S Oratory at Royston. 19. Oct. 1742.

TAB. II.
page 28.



W. Stukeley del.

J. Mynde sc.



I have thrown out

over.

over. Nevertheless I mean to give a further push, not for the sake of further confuting him, but to take the opportunity he has forc'd upon me, of strengthening my own hypothesis. I call it by no other name, not pretending to mathematical certainty in these studys.

In his 18. p. he begins with finding fault (according to his custom) with my genealogy; he says, it does not tally with my account of the family, in the body of the book. he instances, in the table "*Alberic de Vere*, lady "*Roiffa's* father dyed 1140. in the body of the book tis said, he dyed " 1143. in the the table, *Geffery Magnavile*, second son of lady *Roiffa* died " in 1176. in the body of the book, in 1167. in the table *William de Mag-* "*navile*, third son of the lady *Roiffa*, died in 1189. in the book 1190.

A heavy charge this, and which I might answer by saying, what I wrote, was from different authors, who give different dates of things. it was a matter no way material to my chief subject, to be precise in. I had no parish register to ascertain the facts by. But to shew Mr. P——s ungenerous proceeding, I will give a more particular answer, to these three great mistakes, which he and his friends have with unwearied diligence at last picked out, to their great comfort.

How handsomly does that judicious historian *Daniel* write, like a true protestant, in his preface! " the computation of times, says he, is not of " so great moment. Figures are easily mistaken, the 10th of *july*, and " the 6th of *august*, with a year over, or under, makes not a man the " wiser, in the business then done.

Now as to the first error he lays on my back, *Albery de Vere* lady *Roiffa's* father, in *Milles's* catalogue, is said to dye 1140. and so in the manuscript genealogy of the family, in the archives of the duke of *Ancafter*. *John Abbot* of *Peterborough* says, it was in 1141. others say, 1143. which I believe to be the truth. but I recommend it to Mr. P—— to study it further, and then he will be inoffensively employ'd: as for the use of it, 'tis left upon his own hands. Thus *Weaver monum.* p. 725. says, from the book of *Chateris*, that *Alan Rufus*, the I. earl of *Richmond*, dy'd 1093. to which agree the old chronicle of *S. Edmundsbury*, and *Milles* in *cat. bon.* but the annals of *Margan*, quoted by Mr. *Gale*, *pref. bon.* *Richm* p. 7. says, he dy'd 1089. as also the history of *S. Mary's* abby, *York.*

York. This is an instance of like uncertainty in dates, for a malicious critic to nibble at.

The second error charg'd upon me is this. in the table *Geffery de Magnavile* died in 1176. in the body of the book in 1167. if he had had a grain of good nature, he would kindly have corrected this with his pen; as an obvious transposition of two figures, by the printer's mistake, no error of mine. He that had scan'd my book over, with so severe an eye, did very well know, how to amend it, from two places. He should have made it 1167. in my account of the family, p. 17, I tell him in plain words, *Geffery de Magnavile* died without issue the 12th of the calends of *november* 1167. in an expedition against the *Welsh*. Dr. *Salmon's* printer has made the same mistake as mine, p. 140: *Essex*. Again from my p. 25. where I say expressly, this *Geffery Magnavil* died at the latter end of the year 1167. So that this accusation is an instance of the greatest disingenuity possible:

His third error charg'd on me, *William de Magnavile* died in 1189. in the book he died 1190. 'Tis very plain, our authors malice is run to the lees, to lay hold on such an occasion to shew it, to eke out a catalogue or list of Dr. *Stukeley's* errors amounting to n°. III. in making out his parish register every year, he might have inform'd himself, that hundreds of his parishioners that happen to die, between the 1. *january* and 25. *march*, may equally be said to die in two years, the preceding and subsequent. he must be little acquainted with writers in genealogical matters, that makes this a fault.

And now I have clear'd off his two pretended mistakes, I rejoin upon him, who has so many *errata* of his own, at the end of his book, beside innumerable others: and desire he would correct two of his dates, and his genealogy, p. 69. he makes *Maud* wife of *William Beauchamp* earl of *Warwick*, to be the daughter of *Richard Fitzjohn*; but in truth, she was the eldest daughter of *John Fitzgeffery*, lord of *Kyrtling* in *Kent*, and sister of *Richard Fitzjohn*. Again, p. 17. he makes this *William de Beauchamp* to die in 1298. He really died *june* 5. 1299. at *Elmesly*, as *Milles* has it.

P. 19. He treats of the sepulchral chapel its self, which as before, he continues to make a hermitage chapel, for two or more hermits to officiate in. He thinks it was in use, 'till the suppression, by *Henry VIII.* that here were five altars dedicated to as many saints; that religious travellers enter'd at the narrow well, from the cross, to hear divine service, and perform their devotions. He takes it to be the *heremagium de Barkway*, in the original grant.

All this I have, to any reasonable man's conviction, sufficiently refuted before. indeed, the whole he says upon this head, to any person that has seen the place, appears at first sight highly impossible. 'Tis plainly and literally impossible, for travellers to go down our well; and all this while our author is mightily in pain, for poor lady *Rogis* going down here; it was indecent in her, as a woman; and a text of scripture, must be pull'd in, as a buttress, to his egregious oddity. "Neither shalt thou go up by steps unto my altar. A *Jewish* ordinance apply'd to christians. A specimen of our authors divinity! because a *Jewish* priest should not go up by steps, therefore an *English* lady must not go down, by steps.

Poor lady *Rogis* who, he says, had now buried her first husband 43 years, could not go down this place with decency, when *ex hypothesi*, no body went down there, but herself. If he was guilty of giving us a real argument. I would tell him, his argument proves too much. For I do not apprehend his two or three hermits here, wore breeches.

He who has so highly commended me for an architect, must give me leave to find fault with *his* skill in the science. He thinks, that cavity in our chapel which I call the grave, and certainly was such, must be intended only, for a foundation of a brick-shut-case made in the place, for his hermits to ascend and descend in. I say 'tis needless to dig into a chalk-cliff for a foundation: and 'tis impossible, in this compass, to build a brick shut-case, as he projects.

At the bottom of p. 21. Mr. P—— gives us one of his learned notes or comments upon his own text purporting, that in the grant from King *Henry VIII.* to the family of *Clyster*, there is mention made *inter alia*, *heremagium de Barkway*: by which he supposes our chapel is meant, and this is, in his opinion, a strong proof, that it is in the parish of *Barkway*.

What

What an abyſs of inconfiſtency is here ! that a hermitage under the very market-place of *Roifton* ſhould in *Henry VIII.* time be called *Heremitagium de Berkway*. Before there was a ſingle houſe in *Roifton*, it could not have been ſo denominatd, but would have been ſtyled *Heremitagium apud crucem Robeſæ*, as the priory was. had it been in being, before lady *ROISIA* ſet up the croſs, it would have been denominatd from *Newſels*, which lies between it and *Barkway*. and was it ever with any propriety ſaid to be in *Barkway* pariſh, yet 'tis impoſſible, that with any propriety, it can be called the hermitage of *Barkway*, in *Henry VIII.* time : after the town had long been a pariſh of its ſelf.

In p. 9. he gives us an account of a manuſcript deed of the prior of *Roifton*, which he ſuppoſes to be made in the beginning of *Henry III.* time, or before ; he ſtyles himſelf prior *de cruce Rokeys* ; being the uſual ſtyle of the prior and convent, uſed by way of eminency, as a croſs of great fame and antiquity. Nay he proceeds as before to aſſert it, to be even of *Saxon* antiquity. Still in *Henry VIII.* time. This very place muſt be denominatd from *Barkway*.

He does this, thinking to run me into an abſurdity. For in that 9. p. he miſrepresents my hypotheſis, concerning this place (and would have the reader believe) that I aſſert lady *ROISIA* made the croſs here about the end of the reign of *Henry II.* when it could not be of celebrity enough to denominate the priory, founded about that time. whereas my notion is different. I have no where ſaid, that ſhe built the croſs at the end of *Henry II.* time. as I have ſufficiently argued before in contradiction to falſe representation. Again he is as contradictory to himſelf as to me. for p. 16. he tells us, 'tis my doctrine that the croſs was made after 1170. which is falſe, and this ſame falſity he had told us before in p. 2. ſo that in three of his pages he makes me tell three different ſtorys. p. 2. that I eſtabliſh 1170 for the building of the croſs. p. 16. about 1177. p. 9. about the end of king *Henry II.*'s reign, which was 1188. all equally of his own forging : for I have ſaid no ſuch thing : She moſt probably built the croſs here, long before ſhe made this ſepulchral chapel. But be that when it would : ſuppoſing only the croſs was prior to the priory, it would be a thing of note, in an open wide country, ſufficient to denominate the priory. He himſelf p. 6. makes many hundreds and towns to take their names from croſſes, and rightly. then why ſhould not the priory, why not *Roifton* ?

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The west side of Lady ROISIA'S Oratory at Royston. 19. Oct. 1742.

TAB. III. page 33

Entrance



W. Stukeley del.

J. Myndes sc.

My opinion was evident enough, by what I quoted from the excellent Mr. Camden at the beginning of my book, p. 3.

“ *Roiston* a town of much note, but not antient, as having risen *since* the *Norman* conquest. for in those days, there was a famous lady *RO-ISA* who erected a cross upon the road side, in this place. From thence for many years called *Roises* cross. ’till such time as *Eustace de Marc* founded just by it a small monastery, to the honour of St. *Thomas*. Upon this occasion, inns began to be built, and by degrees, it came to be a town, which instead of *Roises* cross, took the name of *Roises* town, contracted into *Roiston*.

After this declaration of our great antiquary’s opinion : there was no occasion for me to tieze mankind with an endless multiplication of conjectures, concerning the very year of lady *ROISA* erecting the cross ; seeing we have no particular record to ascertain it. He words it, like a great author *since* the *Norman* conquest, for in those days, &c. i. e. *since* the *Norman* conquest. all mankind must understand this, with due latitude, except Mr. P—— whose business and studied purpose is, indiscriminately to contradict every thing I say, either of my own, or from other authors. and I shall reckon it an honour to be contradicted, under the umbrage of Mr. Camden.

Mr. P—— in his p. 2. writes, “ Camden ascribes the foundation of the cross at *Roiston*, to have been *about* the *Norman* conquest.” Our antiquary (meaning me) descends a century lower, and maintains, “ that lady *Roisia* who flourish’d in the reign of *Henry II.* was the foundress of it, about the year 1170.

Here he misrepresents Mr. Camden, then myself. He thinks it is a point gain’d, if he can but make me contradict Mr. Camden. Mr. Camden’s word is *since* the *Norman* conquest, every unprejudic’d reader will naturally understand, he means the early times of the *Norman* kings. He speaks like a judicious author, but Mr. P—— out of his singular integrity, changes the word to *about* the *Norman* conquest. by which artifice, he may alter an author’s meaning, to what he pleases.

Now to come to the point, I have no where assign'd the date of lady *ROISIA* setting up the cross, I venture to suggest only, that it was about the year 1170, that she commenc'd that retir'd life, which put her upon digging her subterranean chapel hard by it; which is the subject of all our disputations. 'Tis natural to believe, the place was become somewhat famous at that time; from her having set up the cross a good while ago: more so on account of her erecting a cell or little mansion close by it, above ground.

P. 22. he gives an account of *Downham* bridge hermitage, where several priests lived together and officiated, being subject to the abby of *Ramsey*; who appointed one to be prior, another *capellanus*, &c. and by the convention which he recites, it appears, the abbot at pleasure, sent monks to reside there; and that lay-brethren frequently lived at the place. all this he makes to be a parallel, to our case at *Roiston*. but he is extremely mistaken, who pretends to have so much knowledge of monkery. The real truth is, the name of the place is *the hermitage*, from some real hermitage which had been there in former days; but the thing itself, in the time he is writing of, was in no kind a hermitage, but a cell to *Ramsey* abby. in a word, it was a diminutive abby, or religious convent: where there was a chapel, properly speaking; a chapel, built of stone, above ground, I mean chapels built of stone and above ground, for 'tis ridiculous to seek for chapels for publick use, under ground. So the great mitred abby of *Thorney* was originally called *Anchorige*, from an *Anchorite*, who first lived there.

I can inform him, and it will be doing some pleasure to the reader at the same time, of a case parallel; to *Downham* hermitage I mean, not his fantastic one at *Roiston*, which never was in being.

When I was a youth, and began to have an inclination to the studys of antiquity, I visited *Crowland* abby. and now once at least in the year, my affairs calling me that way, I visit it, with as much pleasure as *Petrus Blefensis* formerly look'd back upon it: *antequam solidam terram tererem, in medio marisco septies aut sepius fræna reflecterem, vestrum sanctissimum monasterium corpore respiciens, & intimo corde benedicens.*

About half a mile to the east of the most venerable remains of *Crowland* abby,

abby, near the road going thence into *Postland*, and on the right hand of the road, is a little hillock of rising ground, now o'er grown with shrubs and weeds. to us that were brought up at *Cambridge*: and to us that live at *Stamford*, 'tis the most respectful piece of ground in the kingdom. in the year 1708. I saw a remnant of a chapel there, which was then turn'd to a dwelling house or cotage. it was called *Anchorige* house. in truth it was the spot of ground that *Pega* pitch'd upon, for her hermitage; sister to *Guthlake*. hither she accompanied him, and lived, whilst he liv'd. and then she retired to higher ground, the place called from her, *Peakirk*. where a little monastery was founded, the chapel still remains, turn'd into a dwelling house.

When lord *Turketyl* became abbot of *Croyland*, anno 948. many learned men followed him thither, whom he plac'd in *S. Pega's* cell; built them a chapel, appointed one a prior, another, who was in orders, a chaplain: and they lived there together, both clerical and lay, exactly like a college; and it was really a college; and the grandmother of all the colleges and learning in the two most antient universitys of *Cambridge* and *Stamford*.

Here lord *Turketyl* made one *Reynford*, a man of much learning and honesty, prior. and the children of the nobility were sent thither, as to a School. and the lord abbot walk'd to the place himself every day, to examine, and encourage their proficiency in learning: as we largely read in *Ingulphus's* history.

Turketyl, on his entering into religion, gave among others, two manors to *Crowland* abby, *Cotenham* near *Cambridge*, and *Worthorp* near *Stamford*. These two were the occasion of founding the universitys of *Cambridge* and *Stamford*. in 975. this great and good abbot *Turketyl*, who had been the counsellor of princes, but thought fit to enter into a religious life, dy'd and was buried on the right side of the high altar. the tenants of the scite of the abby dug up his stone coffin among many others, lately. he left one *Egelric* a relation of his, steward to the monastery, a man of extraordinary learning: who after *Egelric* I. succeeded, as abbot of the place in 984. he gave 40 admirable original manuscripts to the library over the cloisters: and above 100 lesser volumes of other tracts.

Ofketil succeeded him, a gentleman and a scholar. but in the year 1109. *Joffrid* became abbot, on the nomination of *Henry I.* a learned prince. *Joffrid* was the most learned of all the abbots his predecessors: who had gone through the whole course of erudition. he sent some monks to *Cotenham*, who went to *Cambridge*: hiring a large barn, taught the sciences publickly to a great number of scholars. Frier *Gilbert* was a doctor in divinity; *Odo* a grammarian and poet; *Teric* taught logic; *William* rhetoric and oratory. in the 2d year no barn nor church could hold the number of pupils. From this fountain *Cambridge* is deriv'd; originally from that cell of *S. Pega*, call'd *Anchorige*, from her; not from those that liv'd a monastic life in it afterwards; which is the same case as the *Downham* hermitage mentioned by Mr. P.— but how like to lady *ROISIA*'s chapel under ground! I should affront the reader was I to leave it to his judgment. the things are altogether dissimilar.

But further, abbot *Joffrid* sent three monks to the manor of *Wor-thorp*, near us. friar *Elfin* whom he constituted prior, was a man of great knowledge and learning; *Fregist* and *Harold*. these men were the occasion of founding the university of *Stanford*; as may be seen at large in my late friend *Pecks* account of the place. thus to two manners given to *Crowland* abby, by lord *Turketyl*, two of our universitys owe their original. tho' before this, there were schools, as then call'd, in *Cambridge*, which *Foelix* bishop of the east angles, was the founder of, under the auspices of *Sigebert*, king of the country: about *A. D.* 640.

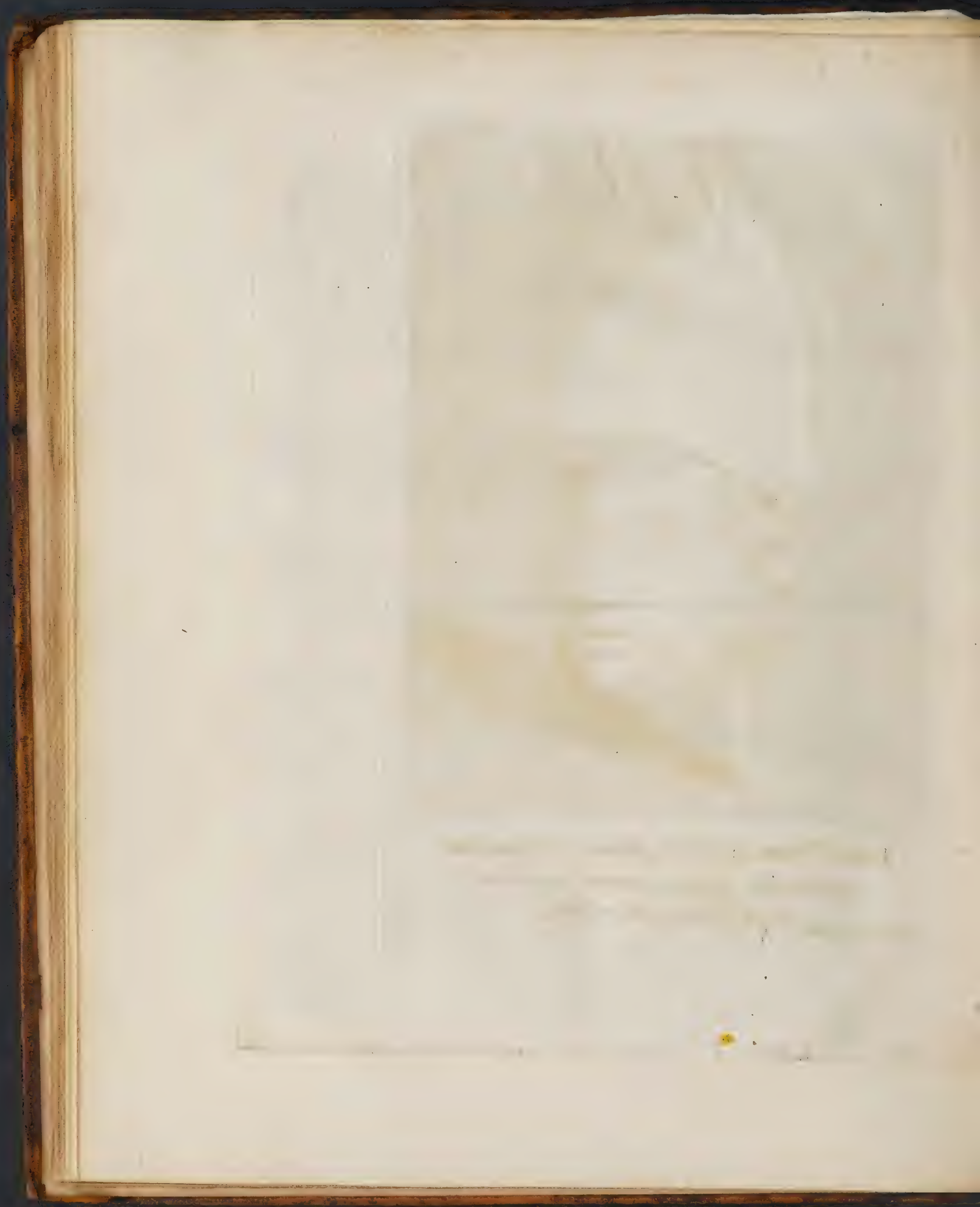
At this time, the chief part of *Cambridge*, was on the north side of the river, which was the scite of the *Roman* city *Granta*, as I suppose it might have been called. I have, in company with Mr. *Roger Gale*, trac'd out the vestiges of that city, without any difficulty; being an oblong square, which was wall'd about and ditch'd. the *Roman* road which comes in a strait line from *Huntington* hither, runs thro' the midst of it, and so in a strait line, thro' the town, by *Christ's* college and *Emanuel*, to *Gogmagog* hills. where it passes by *Barlow* and *Haveril*, into *Essex*, probably to *Colchester*, the *Camulodunum* colonia. In the garden of *Pythagoras's* school, south and west of that building, the trace of the ditch of the *Roman Granta* may easily be discerned; and the turn or angle of it, to which the angle of that building corresponds. Then the west side of the ditch runs on the outside of the late Mr. *Ketils* house, and turns quite on the



Lord TVRCHETYL Abbot of Crowland,
from his Effigies carv'd in Stone,
in the front of the Abby.

W. Stukeley delin.

G. Sculp.



out side of the town, on the north; so round the outside of the castle, through *Magdalen* college clofe, which is the south side of it. The terrace walk in that clofe, is the *vallum* whereon the *Roman* wall stood. then it runs by the south side of *S. Giles's* church yard, to the garden of *Pythagoras's* school. the longest side of this city from east to west was 2500 *Roman* feet. the shortest side from north to south was 2000. so that the road cuts it in the middle. *William* the conqueror built his castle in the most eminent part of this city. *Pythagoras's* school as call'd is a most noble monument of antiquity, being part of an antient college, before the conquest.

In walking about the plow'd fields, on the outside of the castle, we took up great quantitys of fragments of bricks, tiles and *Roman* pottery ware. The late *Dr. Warren* of *Trinity* hall shew'd us many *Roman* coyns found in the gardens by the castle and by *Mr. Ketils* house; together with *Roman* vessels of fine red earth, with figures on them: and of glafs. When this city was quite destroy'd, by the *Scots*, *Picts* and *Saxons*, *Chesterton* arose on one side and *Grantchester* on the other; both taking their names from this city. There is indeed a *Roman* camp at *Chesterton*: but that did not denominate the town: the word *Chester* being apply'd only to such places, as were walled *Roman* towns. *Grantchester* and *Chesterton* are nam'd from the ruin'd *Granta*; they being in its precincts, as *Chesterton*, and *Aldwarkton* (commonly *Allerton*) are call'd from the ruin'd *Durobrivis*, on *Peterborough* river: it is in *Chesterton* parish on the south side of the river. *Caster* on the north side the river: is a distinct place, and was wall'd about, but not the *Durobrivis*, as antiquarys have commonly thought.

The frequency of wall'd towns just hereabouts, by *Durobrivis* is owing to the vicinity of the famous *Roman Cardike*, an artificial canal passing from *Peterborough* to *Lincoln*, thence by the *Fosdyke*, into the *Trent*. This carried the corn in *Roman* times, from the southern countrys into the river *Ouse*, to *York*; and thence to the garrisons lying upon the northern *Prætentura's*. The full consideration of the *Cardike*, which before me has not been handled, is the very plan upon which the true knowledge of *Roman* antiquitys in *Brittain*, is founded. I sent *Mr. Drake* some account of it, which he inserted in his history of *York*, to which it appertains. Formerly I thought it began at *Peterborough*, but in the

year 1736. when visiting Mr. *Rogen Gale* at *Cotenham*, who was lord of the mannor of *Crowlands* there, which lord *Turketyl* gave to *Crowland* abby: I discovered, that the *Cardike* took its rise from this very city of *Granta*, now *Cambridge*. that here were the *Roman* granarys to collect the corn in, from all these neighbouring, fine corn countrys, to be carried by this midland navigation to *Scotland*. In nothing more was the wisdom and policy of the *Romans* seen, than in this affair. From the eastern gate of this city *Granta*, went a *Roman* road, now visible, in a strait line, call'd *king's Hedges*: made on purpose to accompany this artificial cut. for below *Cambridge*, a little above *Waterbeach*, begins our famous *Cardike*. The bed of this artificial cut is very plain from thence, quite across the fen, through *Cotenham* parish, 'till it enters the old *Ouse*. This river conveyed the corn boats, across *Audrey* causey, to *Erithbridge*. *Audrey* causey is a *Roman* way originally, into the isle of *Ely*. At *Erithbridge* in my time was a chapel called the hermitage, now pull'd down. I mean a chapel above ground, not as Mr. *P*—— would have it at *Roi-ston*, under ground. This too as that at *Downham*, which he mentions, was at first the dreary seat of an hermit, which gave name to the place. in time, the chapel was built and frequented by the neighbours, and then two or three priests might officiate, as many as could be maintain'd thereby. Mr. *P*—— would call them improperly hermits. He does not distinguish between former and later times. Originally some hermit pitcht upon a melancholy angle to pass his life, in solitude. afterward a chapel was built upon that spot, for the use of the town of *Erith*, that grew up in time. but it still retain'd its old name of the hermitage, tho' the occasion ceas'd. here the bishop of *Ely*, when residing (before the reformation) in the neighbouring palace of *Somersham*, used to ordain.

From *Erith* the corn boats pass'd in an artificial cut, by *Ramsfey*, to *Suards* dike, which took its present name from *Suardus* a *Saxon* earl, who at the time of the conquest, together with earl *Edwin* and *Morkar*, *Hereward le Wak*, *Egelwin* bishop of *Durham*; *Frederic* abbot of *S. Albans*, &c. held the isle of *Ely* against the conqueror. The vulgar have a report, that they scour'd this dike with their swords, and thence had its name. then the boats pass'd by *Benwick*, where *Roman* coyns are frequently found; so by *Whittlesea* mere, or some cut made by the side of it, to *Horsefey* bridge; where *Roman* coyns too are found, and so into *Peterborough* river. The continuation of the *Cardike*, through *Lincolnshire* may be seen in

in my *Itinerarium*, Mr. Moreton's *Northamptonshire*, Mr. Drake's history of *York*.

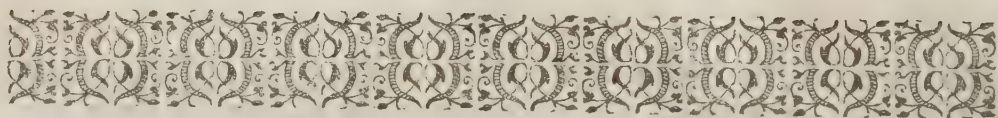
By this means, the corn of *Cambridgeshire*, *Bedfordshire*, *Huntingdonshire*, *Northamptonshire*, *Rutland*, and *Lincolnshire* came in, from the *Trent*, that of *Nottinghamshire*; all easily convey'd northward, to the utmost limits of the *Roman* power there, by the river *Ouse*; which is navigable to the then imperial city of *York*. This city was built and placed there, in that spot, on the very account of the corn-boats coming thither. and the emperors there resided, on that account. and the great morass on the river *Foss* was the haven, or bason, where these corn boats unladed. The very name of the *Foss* at *York*, and *Fossdike* between *Lincoln* and the *Trent*, are memorials of its being an artificial work. even as the great *Foss* road, equally the work of the spade, tho' in a different manner.

As *Chesterton* and *Aldwarkton* by *Durobrivis*, take their names from the *Roman* city: so *Chesterton* and *Grantchester* from *Granta*. So when the *Roman* town at *Roiston* was destroy'd, *Barkway* and *Tharfield* arose, being some what more out of the road of destruction. but when *Cambridge* became a town again, it would be as absurd to say, *S. Giles's* church for instance, was in the parish of *Grantchester*: as to say, *Roiston* market-place was in *Barkway* parish. but absurder still, to talk of a hermitage in that market-place. and if there can be a greater absurdity, 'tis making this place to be called the hermitage of *Barkway*, in *Henry VIII.* time.

Perhaps a hermitage, or a place so called, at *Barkway*, was granted by the king to the family of *Chesters*, let Mr. P—— inquire for it, if he pleases. Some others have inquired for it, at the tower rolls, augmentation and other offices without success. they can find no mention either of *Katherin* or of *Heremitagium de Barkway*: in the original grant.

Thus I have with the utmost conciseness, given the reader some relief, in reciting the *Origines Cantabrigienses & Stanfordienses*. they are matters not only noble, and of great importance, but the discerning reader will find some parallelism, between them and the subject matter of *Roiston*: so as that they mutually illustrate each other. and tho' I have a large account of these matters, I may not perhaps have an opportunity, or inclination to publish it: when we are thus to be ill used, for our endeavours.

C H A P.



C H A P. V.

—— *subsequitur cæcus amor sui,*
et tollens vacuum plus nimio gloria verticem. Hor.

Lady ROISIA no hermit. Not buried at Chikesand. Leland's testimony examined. Great diversity of instances quoted, of mistakes concerning interments. The evidence sum'd up. Lady ROISIA buried at Roiston. Mr. P——s notion of people buried here, absurd. Distinction between male and female skulls. His quibbles about the imagery stated. Character of benedict Abbas : Hoveden : Giraldus Cambrensis : Matt. Paris.

P 23. Mr. P—— not very civilly rates me, for asserting, that the Roiston cave belong'd to lady ROISIA; whom three times together he calls my recluse. opposes me with Mr. Leland's testimony, "that she was buried at Chikesand, that it was not usual for hermits to admit of persons to be buried in their oratorys, and this could not be lady ROISIA's body, that was found." He gives us a long canterbury tale, of Guy earl of Warwick, the famous champion being buried in an hermitage, which he extracted, I presume, out of an old black letter'd volume, bound up with the seven champions, by *Caxton* or *Wynkyn de Worde*.

To all these I shall give as short an answer, as I can. First, I observe, he is an unjust reporter of my opinion; I do not call lady ROISIA a recluse. I suppose her to live and dye at *Nufels*; in the port and dignity, besuited her high birth and station. but I say, she took a walk, when it pleas'd her, over this agreeable turf, to pay her devotions, or for meditation, in her sepulchral chapel. most probably there was some little cott, or cell over it, where a servant of hers dwelt; as the keeper of the place.

place. This is manifestly my opinion, which he perverts, and then argues from it, as customarily as his method.

Secondly, as to the great point, of lady *ROISIA* being buried at *Chikesand*, according to the testimony of *Leland*. It is our author's business to magnify *Leland's* testimony. I know how to set a proper value on it, and on his works, but shall be far from calumniating him, or any author. I leave that to the devil and his agents, who will either find or make faults. But Mr. *P*— takes this testimony of *Leland's*, from myself, and then is sure to turn it against me. 'Tis plain, I had no design to impose upon, or misguide the reader, by concealing any evidence relating to this matter. I mentioned that very testimony of *Leland's*, more than once. p. 21. p. 44. as it did not then overway my judgement, gather'd from laying the whole of the evidence, and appearances together; so now I lay no more stress on it, than before: especially as Mr. *P*.— has not been able to add any weight to it, more than his own ill-nature: nor any one semblance of a reason, to overthrow any one position in my whole book.

But let us consider this affair a little. Mr. *Peck* in his *Stamford annals*, p. 46. tells us, “ *Leland* wrote, that lady *Isabella de Roos* wife of *Robert de Roos*, who lived at *Uffington* near us, was buried at *Newsted* priory. “ and that she died in 1303. Now, says he, *Leland* is mistaken in both “ the facts. He shews, that this lady was buried at *Botesford*; that her “ heart only was buried at *Newsted*, and that she really died in 1301.

Here we find *Leland* is not infallible, and that he has misreckon'd this lady's *obit* a couple of years, and that he has erred in the place of her sepulture. It was indeed very common, at this time, to order their hearts to be buried in one place, their body in another. Thus queen *Elenor's* heart, the wife of *Edward I.* was bury'd at *Lincoln*, under a magnificent tomb of brass, as *Camden* takes notice: her body at *Westminster*. Thus king *John's* heart was buried at *Croxton* abby, his body in *Worcester* cathedral. *Weaver* in funeral mon. p. 751. mentions the heart of our lady *Roisia's* nephew, Sir *Robert de Vere I.* to be buried in the gray friars *Ipswich*. also the heart of dame *Petronil Ufford*. I forbear mentioning more.

Sometime we meet with different accounts of interment, where all cannot be right, unless we understand it of this sort, we are writing on. *Stephen*, one of the first earls of *Richmond*, ordered his heart to be deposited, in the abby church of *S. Mary's* at *York*, in the year 1137. or 1138. in the *Registrum honoris de Richmond* and in *Milles*, he is said to be deposited in the Cistercian church of *Begar*, founded by him, in *Britany*. so says pere *Lobinel*. yet *Lobinel* himself, in another place, affirms he is buried by his father, in the cathedral church of *Briocius*. *Dupaz* says the same. I mentioned some instances of this nature, in lady *ROISIA's* family, at the bottom of p. 34. of my book. I need not recite more.

But besides all this, 'tis well known, the antients had a custom of erecting cenotaphs or honorary monuments, where no body was interr'd, and especially in regard to founders of religious houses. *Weaver* has a whole chapter upon this head, and on these cenotaphs, the names and titles of the defunct, to whose honour they were intended, and often the images were cut and inscrib'd. *Weaver* p. 225. says, *Simon Tibbald* archbishop of *Canterbury* called *Sudbury*, from the place of his nativity, was buried on the south side of *S. Dunstan's* altar, in *Canterbury* cathedral. in p. 743. he writes, that he was buried in *St. Gregory's* church at *Sudbury*, under a marble four yards long and two broad: inlaid all over with brasse: he judges, the former mention'd to be at *Canterbury*, was only his cenotaph, that he built the chapel where this stone lyes.

Thus there is a cenotaph at *Hedingham*, of the famous Sir *John Hawkwood*, who was buried at *Florence* in *Richard II.* time.

Weaver again; "It was the custom of old, and so it is in these days, "for men of eminent rank and equality, to have tombs erected in more "places than one. For example, and proof of my speech, continues he, "I find here in this church of *Canterbury*, a monument of alabaster at the "feet of the black prince, wherein, both by tradition and writing, it is "affirmed that the bones of *William Courtney* archbishop of this see, lie in- "tombed, and I find another to the memory of the same man, at *Maidstone* in *Kent*, wherein because of the epitaph, I rather believe, that his body lyeth buried.

P. 250. He gives an instance of *Peter* the first, abbot of *St. Augustines* *Canterbury*, buried at *Boloign*: yet a monument was erected for him in *St. Augustines* and an epitaph. Can it be doubted but the zealous and grateful abbot of *Walden*, after he had bestowed so much cost and care, to obtain the body of *Geffery Mandevil* lady *ROISIA*'s first husband, founder of his monastery: when he was disappointed by the knights templars, as I mention'd, p. 16. erected an honorary monument, for him in his abby church?

At *Bromley* in *Kent*, *Mr. Weaver* gives us an account of *Richard* *Wendover* bishop of *Rockester*, and parson of that town: that in the church wall lyes his portraiture: yet it is said, that his body was buried at *Westminster*, by the king's special command. The great *Burghley* had a very magnificent cenotaph erected in *Westminster* abby: tho' his body is with us at *Stamford*, and a monument.

Frequent mistakes have happen'd about the interment of great persons. *William* eldest son of the earl of *Penbroke*, said in the book of *Waverly*, where his epitaph is recorded, to have been buried in the temple-church. the same person in the annals of *Ireland*, is said to be buried at *Kilkenny*, with an epitaph. *Weaver*, p. 442.

Milles writing of *Maud* daughter of *William Marshal* earl of *Penbroke*, and wife to *William Plantaginet* earl of *Warren* and *Surrey*, who died 1237. says, her heart lies before the high altar at *Lewis*, but it is not known, where her body was buried.

In *Montfaucon's* monumens afore-mention'd, are two monumental figures of *Richard I.* one at *Fonteverard* where his body is buried, the other at *Roan* where his heart.

Sometimes they were buried in three different places. as *Richard de Clare* earl of *Gloucester*, a relation of lady *ROISIA*'s, who founded the priory of *Tonbridge*: he died at *Emerfield* in *Kent*. his bowels were buried at *Canterbury*, his body at *Tewksbury*, and his heart at his priory church at *Tonbridge*. *Weaver*, p. 322.

Ela daughter of *William Longspe* earl of *Salisbury*, was wife to *Thomas*
F 2 de New-

Gloucester

de Newburg earl of *Warwick*. by *Mr. Milles* she is said to be buried in *Oseney* abby. the truth is, her bowels only are there interr'd, as appears by an inscription still remaining. *Elæ de Warwick comitissæ viscera sunt hic.*

In *Camden*, p. 726. we read *William Rokeby* archbishop of *Dublin*, dying there ; he ordered his bowels to be buried at *Dublin*, his heart at *Hallifax*, his body at *Sandall*.

William Malmsburg, *gest. pont.* III. mentions the great contention, the *lis inextricabilis*, as he calls it, between those of *York* and *Canterbury*, which had the body of the great *Wilfrid* ! he died at *Oundle* near us, in a little monastery he founded. part of it and the room where he died, still remains.

Other instances there are, of bodys being remov'd, after their first interment : as for instance, *Foelix* the *Burgundian*, founder of *Cambridge* university, bishop of the east angles, was first buried at *Dunwich*, then at *Soham*, lastly at *Ramsay* abby. *S. Tibba* was first buried at *Ryball* near us, where her cell was in the north west corner of the church, on the outside. afterward remov'd to *Peterborough*. but I think, here are cases quoted abundantly sufficient, to illustrate the point I aim at. which I shall put in this easy light, to shew *Mr. P*—— that *Leland's* evidence is not mathematical demonstration, any more than his learned answer and remarks upon, &c.

From the first case of lady *Roos*, who according to *Leland's* testimony, was buried at *Newsted* priory near us: it appears *Leland* was not infallible ; for only her heart was there interr'd. 'Tis highly probable from this and many other cases quoted, that lady *ROISIA's* heart was interr'd at *Chikesand*. We see from other cases, that *Leland* alone is not infallible in such matters, but many other authors must be mistaken, in whole or in part, in relation to interments of great personages of antiquity. We see in the case of *Cenotaphs*, that there might be in *Chikesand* chapel, a monument, an inscription of *la fundeur*, a monumental effigies of lady *ROISIA*, which *Leland* saw, and yet her body buried elsewhere. We see, that these memorials of great persons were in more places than one, in different churches, different countrys, different kingdoms.

doms. We see at this time of the day, what violent contentions were used to get the bodys of these great persons. I mentioned in my book, p. 44. that about lady *R O I S I A*'s son, *William de Magnavile*, to be read at large in *Dugdale Baron*. I. p. 204. 1179. our historys tells us the violent contention between *Roan* and *Manse* about the body of the young king *Henry*, son to *Henry* II. and innumerable more might be added. But more than innumerable would never convince an obstinate sceptic in this point, as Mr. *P*—— professes himself, p. 27. I am confident the equitable reader sees by this time, enough to persuade him, that we cannot with any certainty conclude, lady *R O I S I A* was buried at *Chike-sand*. which of all these quoted, is the parallel case to ours, 'tis not possible for me to point out : but I can say thus much, that if my hypothesis be not extremely distant from truth, every page in my book proves, she was buried in her sepulchral chapel at *Roiston*, and it was her scull that I had in my hand.

I know full well, that it was a female scull; and from the rottenness of that and the rest of the bones: the body must have been buried five or 600 years. people of experience can judge of these sculls and others: I have had great experience in these matters from great numbers of the *Wiltshire* barrows, which I have opened. 'Tis impossible, that a body should have been so decay'd, if only since *Henry* VIII. time: besides how ridiculous is it, to admit of Mr. *P*——'s hypothesis, that hermites did permit people to be buried in their chapels. this body was covered o'er about 10 foot deep, with fine mold; which reached higher than the imagery of the chapel. did ever any hermits thus bury, in their chapels, so as to render their chapels forever after useless?

One word more about lady *R O I S I A*'s scull, *Weaver*, p. 30: gives an account of a *Roman* monument found at *Stepney*, in his time, in *Radcliff* field: "a chest of lead: within was the body of a woman, as the surgeons judged by the scull. he recites the jars, glass phials, little urns and the like, found with the body, according to the relators account, Sir *Robert Cotton*. they judg'd her to be some governors wife; here in *Brittain*. 'tis plain, at that time, people had more faith than Mr. *P*—— to rest in the surgeons opinion: and trust a man in his own art. A like *Roman* interment was found 1739. at *Durobrivis* abovemention'd near us, with all the particulars. I have two of the curious little vessels found therein. both

physicians and surgeons who saw the body, pronounc'd it to be female, as well as myself.

The distinction between a male and female scull is as old as *Aristotle*, *hist. animal.* VII. 3. and *de part. animal.* that of a woman's in general, is narrower upon the temples, between the *ossa jugalia*, or cheek bones: and the *styloform processes* in the base of the scull, are slenderer and longer, but an anatomist can at first sight, as readily know one from the other, as a connoisseur knows the painting of Reubens and of Vandyke.

P. 28. My antagonist begins to quibble at the figures or imagery of our chapel, he reprehends me for running from one figure to another, and from one print to another, in my interpretation of them; in order to make them tally (says he) with certain *monkish annals* strangely stretch'd and applied.

This is the itch of calumniating! and then he quotes my 28 p. to be compared with 37. which if the reader pleases to do, as I did, I am confident he will find nothing to the purpose; 'tis only a sham quotation to amuse and deceive. another of his arts of proving. but I shall answer all these particular charges.

When I propos'd to make drawings of the imagery of lady *RO-
ISIA*'s chapel, I consider'd, that the place called the grave, was very proper to divide my work, so as to comprehend the whole, in two plates. now when I begin to interpret this imagery, I do it in the order of time. I discover that lady *ROISIA* began this fancy of cutting the figures, in that point of the circle, that was opposite to the entrance, where that square hole is, in my II. plate, on the right hand of *S. Laurence*; this being to the right of the high altar of the place, or upper end. therefore I rightly begin there. whether it happens in II. or III. plate. from hence I go round, in a continued series, from left to right, as we write, and in chronological order; till the whole circle is compleated, with the utmost propriety. and this our perverse adversary calls running from one figure to another, from one table to another. he is angry that our lady *RO-
ISIA* did not cut the figures, in the order he requires: and therefore is resolv'd in his interpretation of them, to begin as boys at school do, at the first corner of their horn-book: great A.

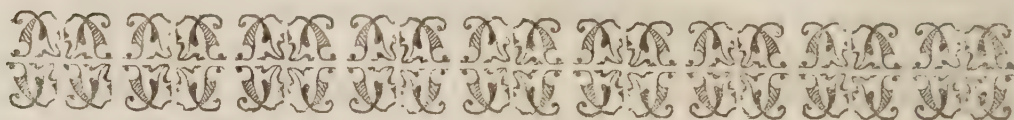
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All the while that he is abusing me about my plates, he scrupulously copys them, erases my name out of the plate, and vends them to the publick, for his own. but he tells us I stretch the figures strangely, i. e. torture them, to make them tally with certain *monkish annals*.

No doubt it well became him to quarrel with me about monkery. he who is a sceptic at every thing, but the golden legend, calls Benedict abbot, a grave and admirable historian, who wrote every thing of his own personal knowledge; this author he calls with equal judgment and truth, *monkish annals*. not to distinguish between a man of learning who liv'd in the court of the greatest prince of christendom, from a real ignorant monk in his cell, making memorandums of the low events that fell out in his own convent. At this time in the court of *Henry II.* where he was chaplain, was transacting the most material and important business of the world. we may have some notion of it, from what I wrote in the beginning of my p. 33. much more might be said, but this I remark, says, *Matthew Paris*, "that all may know, how great was *Henry's* wisdom and magnificence, to whose audience came the counsels of the whole world; to whose judgment their disputes.

'Tis not to be wonder'd at, that our antagonist should abuse me, or king *Henry's* chaplains, when he abuses so great a king as *Henry II.* so valuable an author as Benedict abbot; who is loaded with *encomiums* by all that speak of him. of which I have given some hints in the preface. he wrote what he knew, and he knew the springs of action; had all the original papers to peruse, he writes the most material transactions, that then happen'd in the world. and this book is called *monkish annals*, as if it had been the day-book of his *Downham* neighbours of the hermitage. The misfortune is, *Benedict* abbot agrees not with his golden legend, for historical facts are obstinate things and will never bear stretching and torturing; like his monkish fables. After I had interpreted the whole imagery of this chapel, well nigh to a single figure, in a plain, easy manner, from *Benedict's* real history: so oppositely, that one would think, they were design'd from the book; then comes Mr. P—— and thinks he has weight enough to persuade the world, to take it for *monkish annals*. To this, as far as they handle the same subject, perfectly agree, *Roger Hoveden* who was another of king *Henry's* chaplains, *Giraldus Cambrensis*
his

his secretary, and *Matthew Paris* who liv'd in the neighbourhood of the seat of power; and at the same time. by all remrak'd for a most excellent historian. but all these we must give up for the lying pages of the golden legend, and the romance of *Guy earl of Warwick*, the first edition.



C H A P. VI.

— & easdem circinat auras.

Ov.

Concerning profane storys in churches. Interludes at Christmas-time. Mr. P——s figure of Thomas a Becket disprov'd. S. John Baptist's portrait settled. Mr. P——s skill in divinity. Hugh Nunant's image defended. The Seal of Roiston priory consider'd. the image of the French king vindicated. His contradiction about the tiara. S. Laurence on a steeple at Norwich. Mr. P——s skill at multiplying persons.

OUR antagonist transcribes many pages together of my book, at p. 29. in order first to fill up his own, next to remark upon them; but not as critics and commentators commonly do, to illustrate and commend, but quite on the contrary, to accuse, deform, pervert and persecute. a conduct that throws a discredit in general, upon the study of antiquitys!

The story he begins to criticize upon, that he may be sure to run counter to me, is the last which I treat of, in my annals or chronological order, as he affectedly jests upon it, my explanation being in order of time, which greatly confirms the probability of it, is highly offensive to his irregular treatment of the sculpture, making it a heap of things, that have no relation to any one person, nor to one another. First in p. 31. he finds fault with me, for interpreting the sculpture, in tab. II. where
Henry

Henry II. stands with his sword drawn, into any thing that looks like, what he calls, prophane history, he thinks it no proper decoration for a religious cell.

What an injudicious squeamishness does he pretend to, that will not suffer a contemplative lady, to record in her own oratory, the remarkable event, of a most furious war nip'd in the bud, between the monarchs of *England* and *France*, by the intervention of the more powerful ecclesiastical sword! when a legate *de latere* from the pope, at that time honour'd with almost divine rites, accompanied with great numbers of archbishops, bishops, and nobility of *England*, *Normandy*, and *France*, at the very onset of a battle, interpos'd between the two armys, and made peace; holding up the thunderbolt of excommunication against the party, that dared to refuse a compliance. Our lady's favorite son at this time, had a very great share in the command. and this truly is reckon'd a piece of prophane history, not fit to be put into a private oratory! he may as well call it prophane, when we give publick thanks in our churches, for a victory against the *French*. It was in lady *ROISIA* a piece of religious gratitude and devotion, thus to consecrate to God, a memorial of so extraordinary a pacification, between two great nations.

One would suppose our author thinks, hanging up the king's arms in our churches a piece of profane history. he never read any profane, I mean secular accounts of family history, or monuments in churches. much less did he ever observe figures of devils, ludicrous and obscene representations, both on the outside and inside of cathedrals, churches and chapels. When he was looking for Sir *Robert de Weyland's* picture and his ladys in his own church: he might have observ'd the whole roof of the church supported by horrid and fantastic images of cacodemons and the like. My friend Mr. *Drake* of *York*, observes hunting storiys carv'd in *basso relievo*, in the minster. but innumerable are the instances of this kind. it shews to how wretched a straight he is reduc'd, that makes use of such low wrangling.

Next he wrangles with me for making lady *ROISIA* probably present at *Christmas-time*, in *Bedford* castle, where the king celebrated the festival, with great solemnity. he says, there was feasting, plays, interludes, maskerades, revels and dancing. therefore it must be a great levity

in her, to be present there, who was a *recluse*, dedicated to a religious life: a mere professed. all this is forg'd out of his own head. I never made her a recluse, a nun, a professed. She was a lady of quality. both her sons by her first and by her second husband, were now in the king's court; in her own neighbourhood: and why she might not be there too, if she pleased, as well as the king's chaplains, or any body else, no mortal alive can see, except our *serpens epidaurius*, whose business it is, to make faults, where there are none. Mr. P—— seems to be ignorant, that these interludes at *Christmas-time*, were not profane, as he terms it, but religious, with pageants and the like. from Mr. *Drake's* account of those at *Corpus Christi* time in his appendix, p. xxx. we learn a notion of them.

P. 32. comes our author's solution, which he has been thus paving the way for. and why could he not offer his solutions to the' diversion of the public, without lugging me in, to keep him company? but he says, this is the representation of the martyrdom of St. *Thomas Becket*: the person with the sword erect is the murderer. Him I call *Hugh de Nunant* he makes the archbishops cross-bearer, then comes a quotation out of the golden legend, to prove all this: from the most silly, popish story, that ever was read: p. 33. which I recommend to the reader's perusal, when he is disposed to be merry. 'tis in effect saying, *return ye foolish Britons, to holy mother church*. Observe, how carefully all the while *Becket* is called faint.

Can any reasonable person imagine, that when I was writing concerning *Henry II.* and other persons and things of his time: when I mention in the beginning of lady *ROSLA's* retired life, the memorable year of *Becket's* murder, p. 27. when I mention this priory adjacent, being dedicated to *Thomas a Becket*; that I should not have him in my mind, when I contemplated this figure. but my judgment was not form'd, like our author's, from a partial consideration, or from prejudice, but from the whole of things. the figure of an archbishop, and that of a man with a sword in his hand, may represent *Becket* and his murderer, when properly circumstanc'd. and the like may be applied to many other archbishops, who have been murder'd. but here is a group, a multitude of figures, all apparently belonging to the same history: and not to be interpreted from only two, out of the number; for all the rest are repugnant.

Observe,

Observe, here are but these two. for *he* called by him the archbishop's cross bearer, cannot be so, according to his own *hypothesis*.

For 1. in p. 34. he says, that I have not copyed that figure right, he does not hold a cross in his hand, but the cross is a distinct altar, as he calls it. here he flatly contradicts himself and what he says in this 32. p. 2. in the same p. he makes this figure of a cross-bearer, to be really *John Baptist*. 3. p. 34. he denys, that there was any crucifix on the staff, borne by archbishops. 4. I add another of his absurditys, that there he makes two crosses, one in the archbishops hand, another in his cross-bearers, which is altogether inconsistent. 5. I add another absurdity of his. in p. 35. he makes this figure with a sword in his hand to be *Herod* the king, who slew *John Baptist*.

Thus does a man run himself into a shoal of absurditys. out of the lull of contradiction !

I must give a distinct answer to all these positions. 1. it is much easier to refute this, than to settle what his assertions are. for from the unsettled mixture of his ideas, he is as contrary to himself, as he is to me. he says in one place, the figure with the crucifix in his hand, whom I make to be *Hugh de Nunant*, is the archbishop's cross-bearer. this notion I prove to be false, both because he himself at the bottom of 34. p. pretends the archbishop's cross had no crucifixes on them. likewise, as according to him, the archbishop has the cross in his hand already, his cross-bearer cannot have it too ; for we do not read, nor does he pretend, that archbishops had two crosses. lastly he himself, p. 34. says, I have not represented this figure right ; that he does not hold a crucifix in his hand : but the crucifix is really plac'd between him and the archbishop, and so makes another altar. for he says, here are many altars in this chapel. he says, this figure has an emaciated face, with a forked beard, therefore it represents *John* the *Baptist* : for that the priory is dedicated to *John Baptist* and *Thomas a Becket*. the whole, he concludes (according to the scantling of his logic) is a proof, that lady *Roisie* had no hand in cutting it.

Thus does he play with words and abuse the typographic art, in printing what he understands not himself, nor can make any reader understand. but I think he sufficiently confutes himself. as to his assertion of its being
St.

St. *John Baptist*: we do not find in king *Richard's* charter to the priory, which I have already quoted, that it was dedicated to that saint, *monasterio sancti Thome martyris apud crucem* Roheſie, it is ſtyled. but be that as it will, I do aver this is not *John Baptist*, both becauſe of his bearing a crucifix, and becauſe of his forked beard. in *june* 1745. I viſited our ſepulchral chapel, on purpoſe to compare my plates, with the original, and this figure I examin'd particularly, becauſe Mr. P—— had found fault with my drawing of it. yet notwithstanding, he directly copyed my drawing, without any pretended amendment. but I found my drawing correct. I do aſſert, that this figure bears the crucifix in his hand. tho' the ſhaft of the crucifix is broke off, his right arm is in the poſture of holding it. the crucifix is over him, rather on his right ſide: ſo far is it from being between the two figures, as Mr. P—— would have it.

Therefore what he ſays about this matter is abſolutely falſe. I appeal to the ſculpture it ſelf. as for his proof from the forked-beard, 'tis childiſh and abſurd. for how ſhould he know, the *Baptiſt* had a forked-beard? authority, and that is all we can have in the caſe, tells us otherwiſe.

I have ſome elegant pieces of old ſculpture in alabaſter, in *mezzo relievo*, which I take to have been portable or private altars high raiſed. one of them, has belonged to ſome chapel dedicated to St. *John Baptist*. It was given me by my worthy and learned friend, *Samuel Gale*, Eſq; 'tis exactly a foot in height. below, is the whole figure of the *Baptiſt* in priſon, his hands bound: above, his head in a charger, but of a larger ſize. the bare head is three inches and a half in height, incompaſs'd with ſaints and martyrs. the beard in both theſe figures, is repreſented ſhort, broad, and even at bottom. for the readers curioſity, the ſculpture of it is here exhibited.*

I have the figure of St. *John Baptist* in painted glaſs, of an old ſtyle. he is pictur'd at length in his coat of ſkins, 22 inches high. the face and beard is exactly ſimilar to thoſe abovemention'd. a plain ruſtic aſpect, the noſe very gently riſing. I had it among broken, painted glaſs, taken from St. *John's* church here, by the glaziers, when repairing the windows: which within memory were admirably adorn'd, with this ſumptuous and elegant furniture. Mr. *Peck* found from the pariſh old accounts, that it was made by glaſs painters of *Peterborough*, of great eminence.

* T A B. V.

I have



*An antient Altar in. Alabaster Dedicated to
St. John Bapt: in possession of W. Stukeley. ~
, Inscribed to the learned Samuel Gale Esq.^r*



[Faint, illegible text, likely bleed-through from the reverse side of the page.]

I have now in my hand, an old monastic kalendar or almanac, with the pictures or symbols of the saints of the days of the month throughout: some in black, some in red letters and colors. it was found behind the wainscot of *Fineshade* abby near us. 'tis on velum, made from a wooden print, but copyed from a manuscript one, much antienter. I consider'd the dates of all the saints compriz'd therein, and find the latest of them is *S. Francis*, who dy'd 1226. over 29 august, is *S. John Baptist's* head in a charger. the beard is represented, not forked, but even at bottom, as the others.

Thus we have three or four evidences in different kinds, from antiquity, uniformly agreeing about the *Baptist's* beard, quite different from Mr. P——s assumption. I do not pretend, that any of these were taken from originals, or that they are evidences of the main truth: but they sufficiently evidence that the ancients observ'd an uniformity in these representations. and that Mr. P.—— cannot infer, the figure to be the *Baptist*, from the forked beard. if the *Baptist* himself has appear'd to him in a vision, let him declare it.

Thus having shew'd, that this figure which I rightly call *Hugh de Nuant* (as I shall further show in proper place) is neither *Becket's* cross-bearer, nor *John Baptist*; there remains but two more, of all this group, which he pretends to interpret; him call'd archbishop *Becket*, and the figure with the sword in his hand erect, which Mr. P.—— sometimes makes the archbishop's murderer, sometime *Herod* the king, who kill'd the *Baptist*.

There is little need of refuting a man that is so variable and diffident in his own understanding of things. His interpretations are like the oracles of old, that look both ways. and this sword we are discoursing on, he makes a Delphic sword, which is either to cut off *John Baptist's* head, or *Becket's* scalp, according to the figures good pleasure. how fine a knowledge has our author in the art of designing, who thus confounds times, persons and circumstances! if the first of the figures had been *John Baptist*, how comes it that *Becket* steps between him and *Herod*. if the sword-bearer be the murderer of *Becket*, what need of *John Baptist's* company? he shews himself a profound adept in divinity, that assigns *Herod* personally to cut off the *Baptist's* head. *St. Matthew* whom we ought rather to

believe, writes, that he sent, and beheaded *John* in the prison. he did not go into a fordid dungeon, in all his royal array, on a birth day, and do it himself. nay he was sorry for his oath, that occasion'd it. *St. Mark* says expressly, the king sent an executioner, who went and beheaded him.

As to *Becket*, if to this man with a sword, had been added four in company with swords, and there had been no more figures in this group, we might have admitted it. *Hugh* called the ill-clerk (*malus clericus*) had a hand in killing him, as well as the other four ruffians: *Mauclerk*. but what has *Becket* to do with all the rest, particularly with that figure which has a crown on, and was in reality the *French* king (as I shall shew in proper place) for on my more nicely examining this figure, I found that his crown is really *fleure*, like the crowns, which both *French* and *English* kings now wore: further what has *Becket* to do with the two armies, as plainly and as well designed, as any other figures in the place?

There are indeed still more figures than I have drawn, but imperfect. and 'tis pleasant to think, that Mr. P—— rates me in p. 61. for not interpreting an imperfect figure or two, that never were finish'd; whilst here he says not one word of all the number of figures which compose this group, we are speaking of.

His odd notion, p. 34. of the little holes called niches, wherein to put lamps, to burn before these saints, does not deserve confutation. it proves no point.

si quis nunc quærat, quo res hæc pertinet?

lady *Roisia* if she pleased, might set up a lamp there occasionally, or on the ground: or she might put a prayer book in there, or any other book, or thing. but had it been a constant practice to put a lamp there for many ages, the oylly black would have been still discernable.

My business is now, only to shew the falsity and improbability of his interpretations of the imagery. which when done, is no small confirmation of that which I had made. but I shall at the close of this work, reconsider my own interpretation, and add some further observations, which prove and confirm the truth of it.

He

He informs us, p. 35. that he too is a collector: and luckily has got an old decay'd seal of a prior of *Roiston*, which contradicts a position of mine, relating to *Roisia's* cross, his figures upon it, are too imperfect for me to enter on a dispute about them. his criticism on locusts is taken from *Hammond*. but this I say, that no person that has any notion of drawing, can think the cross in the middle, is the figure of lady *Roisia's* cross. I can allow it to be an archiepiscopal staff: but it is nothing like the upright stone of the crosses, set up by highways; which were of an obeliscal form fix'd at bottom, into a great stone, which stone or foot-stool still remains at *Roiston*. this foot-stool was set upon steps. on the top was a round or multangular capital, carv'd either with a crucifix, the *Virgin Mary* or other saints. we are not to doubt, that this cross of lady *Roisia's* was a costly one, besuited her quality and fortune; and that help'd to add that celebrity to the place, which denominated the town. in the old kalendar above mentioned, found at *Finsbade*; a cross is depicted by *S. Guthlac*, set upon steps. and in *Guillim's* heraldry, p. 227. a cross is depicted, set on three steps, the arms of the *Jones's* of *Denby*: which gives us a much better notion of the old crosses, than his seal: and a true notion withal, which his seal does not. and this is all that is worth remarking about his seal.

P. 37. our author next cuts some very large slices out of ^{my}book, no less than four intire quarto pages, and *ragou's* them, for his readers entertainment; begins with calling it, a surprizing long bead roll of romance. the whole is upon two figures in our chapel, that of *S. Laurence*, and that of a king under him. in an easy and natural way, I shew, these were made by lady *Roisia* as a grateful commemoration of the most signal victory, obtained over the *French* king, guilty of the utmost perfidy; by our king *Henry II.* on *S. Laurences* day, 1173. Lady *Roisia's* favourite son *William de Magnaville*, had then a signal command under the king, as likewise another relation of hers, *Hugh de Beauchamp*.

But commendations of *Henry II.* do not suit our author's taste, and that of his coadjutors; nor tales of *French* perfidy. he makes my *French* king to be his *Galien* or *Decyan*, as he affectedly spells them, and proves it from the unerring, golden legend; for it must be any person, rather than what I say. and further, the episcopal figure standing by, he makes to be pope *Sixtus*, who suffer'd with *St. Laurence*. nor is it enough, that he should be plac'd here once, but the three little figures underneath, he makes to

be

S. *Feliciſſimus*, S. *Agapitus*, and S. *Sixtus* again. and quarrels with me, becauſe I did not tell the world who they were.

Thus he wantonly throws out at random his wild and licentious conjectures to be believ'd merely on his *ipſe dixit*, without any color of proof or probability : and ſneers me, p. 43. about my good friend Benedict *abbas*, as he calls him. The truth is this, in my 42. p. I mention'd this de-faced figure ſeeming to have been a crucifix, under it, a female figure perfect. I ſuggeſted, it might be the representation of lady *Roiſia* herſelf, and the croſs ſhe erected above ground. as I deliver'd the thing in moſt terms, it ſhew'd how unwilling I was, to impoſe upon the reader ; but what I ſaid, intimated ſufficiently, the three figures underneath may well be underſtood, to represent a multitude of paſſengers, perhaps, going on the road by the croſs. I did not like *him*, at random, give their names. and when I came to correct my drawing, to be precise, I found there were four figures, and an imperfect one underneath. So that Mr. *P*—— may add here another pope *Sixtus*, if he pleaſes. that other figure ſtanding by, with a miter on, is likewiſe imperfect. therefore I ſpoke not about it, as it might be underſtood in the ſame circumſtance of a ſpectator But Mr. *P*—— boldly makes a pope of him, and aſſigns names for the little figures too, meerly out of his own good will and pleaſure. whiſt the female figure the moſt perfect in the whole, whom I make to be good lady *Roiſia* herſelf, he out of a mortal averſion to her, will not once look that way.

But our author finds fault with my drawing of this mitred figure, tho' at the ſame time, he ha's not mended it, and will needs have it a triple crown, a pope. yet after I had more attentively conſider'd this figure, I cannot diſcern the *tiara*. it is as I ſaid before, imperfect, and therefore not worth the diſputing about. but ſtill I think, he ſays enough himſelf, to over throw his own arbitrary conjecture ; both as he makes here two figures of pope *Sixtus*, which is abſurd in one group ; and again by his own obſervation at the bottom of p. 41. which he levels as uſual, againſt me : he there ſays, *Urban V.* 1362. was the firſt pope that took up the *tiara*, (an elegant expreſſion) whence he infers the image was carv'd ſince that time : nevertheleſs he makes pope *Sixtus* to wear it, in the time of the emperor *Galienus*, about *A. D.* 260. what a *farrago* a ſurprizing long bead-roll of contradiction is here !

I deſire





I desire the reader but to look upon this group of figures, in my II. plate, or that of *his* copy'd from me, and see how wild an imagination this must be, that fancies it the martyrdom of S. *Laurence*, trampling upon the emperor *Gallienus*. he is really holding the instrument of his passion, as in a triumphant, not a suffering state; whilst his friend pope *Sixtus* is trampling on his dearly beloved self, his own effigies, one of the three little ones; the other two according to Mr. P—— being S. *Agapitus* and S. *Feliciſſimus*. but who the fine lady is that stands between them, a most perfect figure, he says not a word of, at this time. and then what has the crucifix to do here, in company of a *Roman* emperor, a persecutor? all these wretched inconsistencies, without any shadow or similitude of probability, is an indignity offer'd to every reader, as well as myself.

quo teneam vultus mutautem protea nodo!

Again how ridiculous is it to make this figure of a king to be the emperor *Decyan* or *Galyen* (to spell it in his mannar) this crown is as plain as any thing possible, the crown worn at that time by the *English* and *French* monarchs; not the radiated one, worn by the *Roman* emperors, and which was then well known to the sculptors. again, this king is evidently in the action of one frightened, flying; not of one persecuting and killing of christian martyrs. but we must follow our author to another part of his work, before we have done with this argument.

P. 47. he is so delighted with long, and fresh accounts out of the golden legend, which will make any body laugh to read them: that he resumes this debate again, and now this figure of the *French* king is become the emperor *Decian*, which before was the emperor *Gallien*. this is another of his arts of interpretation, which we may call *oneirocritics*. at the bottom of the page, is a learned note, informing us, that on the tower of S. *Laurence* in *Norwich*, is to be seen the figure of S. *Laurence* and that of the emperor *Decian*, in a falling posture as here. he believes that I will not venture to say, that lady *Roisa* carv'd this, or that this bears any relation to the *French* king. which tower was built about 1470.

This is another insult on the publick, as well as on me. I have therefore given a print of this carving, to shew how unhandsomely he treats us. 'tis a representation of the martyrdom of S. *Laurence*, with the executioners about him. above is the emperor *Gallienus* or *Decian*, which Mr. P——

TAB. VI.

H

pleases.

pleases. so far is he from falling down, as Mr. P—— would have it, that he stands above the martyr, as it were insulting him. this is a picture of the saint, in the act of his martyrdom: that in our chapel, in a triumphant state; and quite so very dissimilar in every thing: that the reader will be apt to blush, for one that can assert so manifest a falsity, as that they are alike. observe further in this print, the emperor rightly wears a radiated crown. therefore our author deserves a cardinals cap at least, who puts a *French* crown, on a *Roman* emperor's head. he quotes at the bottom of p. 42. a special authority, the golden legend, that *Galyen* had two names, *Galyen* and *Decian*. and so the golden legend is remarkable for contracting two persons, into one, as Mr. P—— in multiplying them, one into two. for he makes *Hugh de Nunant* to be both *Becket's* cross bearer and *John the Baptist*. *Henry II.* in armour, he makes to be both *Becket's* assassin and king *Herod*. this figure he makes to be both *Decian* and *Galienus*. after, he turns lady *Roisia* into one *Concordia* a nurse, and into one *Tryphonie* an empress. he makes two pope *Sixtus's*, and if need be, he can as easily unmake them all again.



C H A P. VII.

*Immanisque sedens aliena ad pabula fucus,
aut asper crabro, imparibus se immiscuit armis. Virg. G.*

The conversion of S. Paul asserted. character of the golden legend. Hypolite, his horse, nurse, &c. exploited. S. Christopher and his staff, confirmed. Of burying here. Making many altars here, absurdly. S. Katherin's prison affirmed. A piece of Mr. P——s divinity, again. The dove in scripture. Papists absurdly call'd roman catholicks. The Popish shield of the five wounds. The station of St. Christopher quite mistaken by Mr. P——

P. 43. our author transcribes two more pages of my book, where I treat of the three figures, that represent the holy family : this, out of his abundant civility he admits. but the figure of a horse and man, his sword and shield by him, which I call the conversion of S. Paul, he will by no means admit. his reasons are, he says, the apostle should be in a Roman dress, in a groveling state and posture, by his horse on the ground. his horse should be bridled and saddled. here he is without furniture ; the apostle stands upright, and in compleat armour. these circumstances persuade him, that 'tis some other person, and at last he pitches upon S. Hypolite, and gives us his history, out of dear, golden legend, and in the antiquated stile. pity, 'twas not printed in the old black letter !

Our author not only runs into anachronism, in calling S. Paul apostle, again into false history, in making him a Roman, but likewise in his learned note, at bottom of the page : that I tell him, that all our shields have a cross, cut in the lower part of their garments : but S. Paul here has not a cross, says he, therefore he is not S. Paul. does not our author know, that S. Paul when he was sent to Damascus, went to persecute

the christians ; therefore what title had he to a cross upon his garment, not being either a saint or a christian ? now I do aver, that *S. Paul* is not a figure standing upright, but well enough represents a man fallen on the ground, his sword and shield, and horse lying by him. what can be a juster representation ? in his *special* dedication, he finds fault with the rudeness of the work of our imagery ; that it is not like *Phidias* and *Praxiteles*, *Angelo*, and *Bandinello*, a pomp of words without any meaning, and now he pretends to discern, that *S. Paul* is in compleat armour, and his horse without any furniture. I own I could not see clearly enough, to know whether he is, or is not in compleat armour, nor whether his horse be, or be not in furniture : he seems to be in a short riding habit, as he ought to be, not in long, sacred vestments of an apostle, before he was an apostle : or in a *Roman* dress, when he was a *jew*. nor am I so easily persuaded, from the authority of the golden legend, that this is *S. Hippolyte*. I must still declare, for the conversion of *S. Paul* ; which was a real history, and the designing of it upon the wall here, is common, easy and obvious. and his miserable joke upon me, p. 49. for not knowing an apostle from a jockey or horse-leach.

tradam protervis in mare Creticum portare ventis.

Hor.

Then at last, as with a very ill will, he vouchsafes to run back to that figure which I called lady *Roisia*. he had told us in p. 31. that it was 43 years compleat, since the death of her first husband : otherwise 'tis a very rude joke upon her, to say she is a *Crambe* and more than *bis repetita*, he means *cocta*. had she been a *popish* saint antient or modern, he would have said, *hæc placuit semel ; hæc decies repetita placebit.*

Hor.

however casting about in his head, how to get rid of this lady, and consulting the golden legend, he finds she is one named *Concordia*, who was *Ypolytes* nurse. " she was nouryce of *Ypolyte*, and said, we had lever deye " with our lord chastely, than lyve synfully. and than decyan beynge " presente, commanded that she sholde be beten with plommets of lead, " unto the tyme, that she gave over her spyryte.

For ought I know, this is a sage lecture, how to overcome a woman's spyryte. But this little I quoted out of the golden legend, that the reader may be acquainted with the spirit of it, after he has suffer'd as much as *S.*

Concordia

Concordia from the plommets of lead, and after this, p. 50. Mr. P—— who may have undergone the same discipline, according to his wonted skill in interpretation, finds out from the same golden legend, that this figure is, “*Tryphoye* the emperor *Decian*’s wife: who became chrysten, “ with her daughter, who when she wolde not do sacrifice, dyde do cutte “ her throat, and dy’d do byhede the other knyghtes, and the bodys were borne with the other; into the felde verane, and there buried.

Well might *Vives* say, the legend was written by a man of a brazen-forehead, and a leaden wit. enough of this in *Pool*’s excellent book, the nullity of the *Roman* faith.

And now illuminated by the golden legend, he makes a new discovery, in the same p. 50. “ that the figures in battle array, which the doctor “ would have us believe to be; the two armys of the kings of *France*. and “ of *England*, may perhaps represent these knights thus martyred.” He goes back to the first story we begin withal, to drag in two whole armys, which till now, he had forgotten. what a hotch potch of company has he made, and how beautifully has he marshalled them. *John Baptist*, *Thomas a Becket*, king *Herod*, pope *Sixtus*, *Hypolytes* nurse, the emperor *Gallienus*, *Hypolytes* horse, and above two whole armys of martyrs: to which number, add my self and the reader fellow sufferers. nor can we yet sing the *nunc dimittis*, this might well breed a mortal quarrel between us, that I neglect his friend *S. Becket*, when thus attended by two armys of saints!

But all this while, we have not accounted for *Hypolytes* horse: so he tells us a story of “ a vill near *Hitchin*, called *Hipolites*, from him here “ shrined. and that people customarily brought their untamed colts, and “ forworn jades to it, through the length of the church, to be blessed by “ him, who was a good tamer of colts, and an excellent horse leach. he does not distinguish who was shrined there, *Hypolite* or his horse: but from the posture of the horse, he might as well have made his *Hypolyte* a shew-man with a dancing horse. I wonder too, that as he introduces travellers here in great numbers, with their great coats, boots and spurs, it did not enter into his mind, to bring their horses down likewise, to pay their adoration at his *Hypolytes*’s fancied altar, in our chapel: and be blessed there.

We

We have now gone through the pains and penaltys of 50 pages out of 76. the next scene to be presented, is at p. 51. *S. Christopher's* staff. I tell a reasonable and credible story concerning it, that *S. Christopher* preaching the gospel before a multitude of people in *Lycia*, he stuck his staff into the ground, it took root, immediately produced leaves, flowers and fruit, in token of the truth of his doctrine; which much furthered their conversion. but this does not satisfy our antagonist, for it does not come out of the golden legend; and has not enough of the marvellous in it. so he gives us a thumping quotation therefrom, which I have no stomach to transcribe. but at length he makes this a *palmer's* staff, or cross: and that it stands here as an altar to *S. Hypolyte*, a most enormous whimsey of his own, mistaken from the word *palmyer* in the legend, berynge floures, leves and dates, by which is meant either the *palm-tree* properly, or what we call palm, from flourishing about *Palm-Sunday*.

P. 53. he gives a lash upon my observation on the two little pictures of sepulchral monuments cut upon the ground of the *podium* or circular bench, as we see in table II. under the figure of lady *Roissa*. this he rubs off, with a vain repetition of hermits suffering men and women to be buried in their oratorys. they must be mere pigmys if he thinks any buried here, for these pictures are not above a hand in length. and it is absolutely impossible, that any should be buried here, under the chalk. for the floor is pure rock of chalk, that has never been dug, never design'd to be dug.

Proceed we then, to his transcription from my book, p. 53. remarking upon it, that he gives an impertinent account of ecclesiastical decrees, concerning setting up images in churches, and ends in p. 57. with a notorious falsity. he has entertain'd a crotchet of great variety of altars in this place, then puts it into my mouth, as if I had done it, and argues from that absurdity. as if I had asserted, the altar of *S. Laurence*, or the altar of *S. Paul*, who is his *Hypolyte*, was made so and so; and with a peculiar modesty calls it *hysteron proteron* existing only in his own imagination.

quid hoc veneni sevit in praeordiis !

Hor.

P. 58. he finds fault with what I call the prison of *S. Katerin*; a cavity sunk into the wall. he affirms, 'tis the sepulcher of our Lord, cut in similitude

militude of our saviour's tomb, made on the north east side of the chancel. but unfortunately, this happens to be on the north west side. he gives us long accounts of this matter in churches, which are altogether impertinent to this place and thing, being neither a church, nor is the ~~ca-~~cavity our lord's sepulcher, having no sort of resemblance to it; as may be seen in books of travels into the holy land, such as *Sandys*, *Lebrun*, &c. however, p. 59. he fully discovers his talent as a divine, equally as an antiquary.

I have shewn in my book, p. 33. what he would have call'd a demonstration. we are told this eminent virgin and martyr was imprisoned for twelve days, no person permitted to come near her, even to bring her any sustenance: but that a dove miraculously administered to her, and brought her all necessaries. this is cut as plainly as picture can represent it: and yet our antagonist will have it any thing, rather than what I say it is. for it must be our Saviour in his shroud, as dead in his sepulcher, "and no
" wonder is it, says he, to see the dove hovering over him, a proof of the
" deity.

This is downright imposition upon the faith and understanding of mankind. he might as well have said, it was a partridge, or a nightingale. had we not the testament in *Engliss*, we ought to conclude, that a dove hovered over our Saviour's sepulcher; as at his baptism. and further, that the evangelists had told us, it was a proof of the deity. in the mean time Mr. P—— with a papal authority declares and decrees, that it ought to be so, and is so, and that we ought so to understand it. wherein scripture, is a dove the proof of the deity! the holy spirit was pleased, for the satisfaction of *John Baptist*, and the standers by, to descend upon our Saviour's head, in a visible form as to anoint him, at his holy baptism. what form could be more proper than that of a bird, and what bird more proper than that of a dove, on many accounts? the symbol of meekness, simplicity, love, chastity, fidelity, purity, innocence and seraphic devotion, and many more virtues which 'tis not necessary to enlarge on. the intent of the holy ghost descending on our Saviour, was likewise for his spiritual designation to the priest hood, after the order of *Melchisedec*, the patriarchal method. Therefore I recommend to Mr. P—— to read my friend *Cruden's* concordance, voce dove, and he will be better instructed, in his theological notions. but as to the matter in debate, we may without a
solecism

solecism call it a demonstration. this figure in the hollow of the wall, may as well be asserted to be *S. Katherin*, as if she had the wheel in her hand.

P. 60. he gives us a detail quite foreign to any purpose, about the shield of the five wounds, as call'd by the *Romanists*. a mere piece of drolery, of those who call themselves *Romanists* and *Roman* catholics. and we are weak enough to call them so too, instead of papists : which they know, is become justly odious to the common people. but to shew our folly therein, examine what pretence they have, to the name of *Roman*, or of catholic. can a popish priest or a papist born in *England*, and all his ancestors, with any propriety be called a *Roman*, any more than a *Polander*, a *Russ*? and catholic, which signifies universal, the least belongs to papists, of any religion upon the earth. the most narrow-sould religion in the world! the old *Romans* profelyted themselves into the religion of every country they conquer'd. but papists endeavour to extirpate the very face and appearance of all religions but their own.

The purpose that Mr. P—— has in discoursing on this popish shield of the five wounds, is absolutely impertinent. there is no such thing in this chapel. I never spoke of them, and yet he introduces it, to form a proof against me. *S. Francis* truly invented an order, who invented this famous shield, 20 years, after *Roisia's* death; ergo lady *Roisia* could not cut the figures of hearts and hands in her chapel, which has nothing to do with his popish shield.

But this has been his common method of argumentation, throughout his whole book. as if the reader could be so little acquainted with human nature, as not to know that a heart and hand were symbolical of affection, ever since human nature began.

P. 61. he has a fling at me, because I do not tell him. *ne unum verbum quidem* which for the benefit of his *English* converts, means not one single word, about a head of a figure only, in *S. Katerines* prison. he says 'tis a woman, and further, that 'tis *Mary Magdalene*, and instead of the golden legend, quotes the scripture to prove it. I suppose, he sees with *Roman* spectacles, which do not fit my nose, nor is my nose large enough to be led by them. And I believe it as much to be *Mary Magdalen*, as his former figure was *John Baptist*.

In

In his remarks, p. 62. he takes notice that the *station*, as he calls it, of *S. Christopher*, was on the north west end of churches. and he has the modesty to tell us, that he is thus plac'd in our oratory. just as he mistook about the position of his pretended sepulcher of Christ: so now he mistakes about this saint. for he is really upon the north east side of lady *Roisia's* chapel. that *S. Christopher* which I mention'd in *Westminster* abbey, is on the most southerly wall in the abbey. 'tis defac'd, since I wrote, to make way for a tomb.

At the bottom of p. 63. he adds a learned note from his fellow labourer *Blomefield*, telling us, *S. Christopher* is plac'd over the north door, because children to be baptiz'd, were usually brought in at it; in allusion to the water in baptism. 'tis false, that children to be baptiz'd were usually brought in by that door, and nothing at all to the purpose, was it true.

In that 63. p. we have a huge quotation hawld out of the golden legend, about *S. Christopher* being a hermit, merely for the sake of that antiquated language. if the reader is sleepy in perusing this tedious dispute, he will do well to look it over. but our author would not say a word of *S. Christopher's* vertue in preventing tempests, because I had said it before; and therefore he holds it for apocryphal. but this is the real occasion of putting up *S. Christopher's* picture in churches: and this is the real occasion of lady *ROISIA* cutting it here. and this figure together with the assigned date, 1185, so concurrent with those great calamitys mention'd in my book, are as a sure chronological character, and what Mr. P—— would have exulted in, as a mathematical demonstration.

Sir *Thomas Brown*, *vulg. err.* p. 211. writes, it was the custom to place his image at the entrance of churches, towns and public ways. 'tis at the entrance of *notre dame de paris*. and at our entrance, here. and this is a proof, that the well was the original and only entrance of the place, according to our first opinion, notwithstanding Mr. P—— has omitted it, in copying my frontispiece plate.



C H A P. VIII.

*ad Regem redeo; postquam nihil inter utrumque
convenit ——— Hor.*

The foundation of our quarrel Henry II. His character. His original image here. The absurdity of Mr. P——s gilds here. The history of the head dresses, debated, and illustrated, from monuments. Mr. P——s extraordinary argument fetch'd from his own church. True arguments fetch'd from Gretford church. Burton coggles, &c. Mr. P——s concluding battery dismantled.

TIS fit we should begin a new chapter, when we are arrived at the head and foundation of all this quarrel. hitherto I have been endeavouring to vindicate an innocent and pious lady, traduc'd, and even annihilated, as if she never had been. but now I may say,

major rerum mihi nascitur ordo.

I am to enter the lists in combat, for a great and mighty monarch, the greatest, dead, that ever sat on the *British* throne. to execute this with dignity, I must needs own my insufficiency: 'tis a task fit for the pen of Mr. *Lyttleton*, who will do it justice. but in the mean time, according to my mean module, I must call my antagonist to an account.

P. 66 Mr. P—— declaims against me, for saying, “ *Henry II. is here carv'd: or saying any thing that is respectful of him. the historians which he has consulted, set forth that king in a different light.*” i. e. as bishop *Nicolson* writes, some make him a god, some a devil; according as the author favor'd the court of *England*, or of *Rome*. Some say, continues the bishop, that the life of this king, as we now have it in *Speed's* chronicle, was compos'd by Dr. *Barcham*, archbishop *Bancroft's* chaplain; and

and chiefly in confutation of one *Bolton* a papist, who had newly enlarg'd too far, in the justification of *Becket's* insolent carriage to his prince.

'Tis this, that has sprung the mine against poor lady *Roisia*. and we may ever observe our sciolists in antiquity are like enemys to that great queen *Elizabeth*, because she beheaded *Mary* queen of *Scots*; and for other good reasons, in *their* account. such love to pick out little errors in *Camden*, that they may build a low character on his high fame. Therefore I who have spoke civilly of this king; have plac'd his image in this chapel; have deny'd *Becket's* image a place here; instead of *Ypolyte*, *Ypolyte's* horse, *Ypolyte's* nurse, and many more faults of that class: I who have stuff'd the walls, with king *Henry*, no less than twice, and his queen *Elenor*, and many other brave men and women; not named in popish kalendars: I of consequence must needs be an heretical delinquent. I who have dar'd to fill up my book out of *Benedict Abbas*, "a book, full," says the bishop, of notable and politic remarks," instead of the golden legend: ought to be *answer'd and remark'd on*, in the severest manner.

It seems, the historians which our author has consulted, set this great king in a different light, to what I do, and I do not doubt it, as not having recourse to the vatican for a true character of him.

*lupis & agnis quanta sortito obtigit,
tecum mihi discordia est.*

I have given a good reason, for our lady cutting it, here, both because of the personal qualitys of the king: as that he was a special benefactor to her house. Mr. *P*—— not like a good christian, gives the worst part of his character, and offers that for a reason, why it should not be him.

Let us see what such authors as I consult, say. *Rapin a Frenchman*, calls him, "one of the most illustrious princes of his time, both for greatness of genius, and extent of dominion. He was valiant, prudent, generous, politick, studious, learned, and of an exalted genius. thus writes *Milles*: bountiful and liberal he was to all men, rewarding his soldiers, oftentimes, over and above their wages. his pitiful nature to the poor, may not be forgotten; for his charity also made him famous. in the year, 1176. when there happened a great dearth in the parts of *Angou*
I. 2. and

“ and *Mayn*, ten thousand persons did he daily feed with sufficient sustenance. and this charity continued, from the beginning of *april*, 'till new corn was brought to the barn. whatsoever provision was made for his own household, he employ'd it to relieve religious houses, and poor people ; oftentimes fasting himself, that they might be fed.

“ Of his subjects, continues he, very seldom took he any great tributes. he was expert in arms and very fortunate. he would commend his captains and men of war, when they were dead ; pitying their loss, more than his love appear'd to them, while they lived. he was wise and indifferently learned. for due administration of justice in his kingdom, his care was very great : and in appointing magistracy.

“ He was the greatest king this nation ever knew, says Sir *Winston Churchill*, *divi* p. 212. this mighty king of *England*, the greatest of all the christian world, in his time, or that the kingdom ever saw. says the judicious *Daniel*.

“ With his high fame in fight, what cold brest was not fir'd — through all the western world, for wisdom most admir'd. *Drayton's polyolb.* p. 260.

“ *Matt. Paris* calls him magnificent ; again, *principem mansuetissimum*, in 1175. he calls him. *anglorum rex maximus*, in 1186. *indulgentia pii regis*, in 1163. *Benedict abbas* calls him, *rex christianissimus*, in 1163.

Thus *Giraldus Cambrensis* who was his secretary. *hibernia expug.* p. 782. “ he was a prince very eloquent, learned, affable, easy, pleasant, polite, of great piety, trying all things before arms, but valiant and intrepid. he was very humane and merciful ; severe to the obstinate, clement to the conquered ; liberal in publick, parsimonious in private. as to the accusation of unlawful amours, he says, it was not, till after his wife had offended, in instigating his children against him. He was a man of foresight, an observer of peace, incomparably charitable. the chief support of the holy land. he lov'd humanity, spurn'd at pride. prudent, perfectly well vers'd in all history, and excellently well furnished with all gifts of nature.

These

These are the authors that I consult, and I need not wonder at being traduc'd, when so great a monarch must be abus'd. *Becket* has forgiven him, tho' these people have not. he went one pilgrimage on foot, and barefoot, to his tomb. he accompany'd *Philip* earl of *Flanders*, on the same account, 1177. the same year he refounded *Waltham* abby to his honour. in 1178. *Benedict* says, "the king came from *Normandy* on the ides of "july, and immediately, as his custom was, went to visit *Becket's* tomb, in 1179. he accompanied the *French* king to *Becket's* tomb. he accompanied *Theobald*, uncle to the *French* king on the same account, as likewise the archbishop of *Coloign*. he was the cause of many churches being dedicated to him. *Benedict* abbot, for instance, his chaplain, and *Richard de Lucy*, his chief justice built such.

His piety was shewn, in that, *Laurence* abbot of *Westminster* compos'd a book of the life of *Edward* the confessor, at the instance of our king. *Matt. Paris* lives of the abb. *S. alb.* p. 82. after he and his queen were crown'd at *Worcester*, they both laid their crowns on the altar, vowing, out of a spiritual humility, never to wear them again. *Matt. Paris* says, the king only eat bread and water for three days. in 1182. he gave to the relief of the holy land, 42,000 marks of silver, and 500 of gold: *Matt. Paris*. when he was dying, he was carryed to the church, to the altar, to receive the holy communion, *communione corporis & sanguinis Domini*. as *Hoveden* words it. they did not then, as the papists now, give the sacrament by halves. here let us reflect on this great monarch. after all his power and glory; the soul of man in its sober moments, like *Noah's* dove, can find no rest for the sole of her feet, but on the ark of religion.

As to his empire, he extended it much farther, than any of his predecessors, and bating what we possess in the *West Indies*, it was much greater than at present. he subdu'd *Wales*. the king of *Scotland* held his crown of him. he and his nobles swore fealty to him. he conquer'd *Ireland*. he was duke of *Normandy* in right of his mother the empress. he was duke of *Guien*, *Aquitain*, *Saintonge*, in right of his queen: he was earl of *Anjou* and *Main* in right of his father. he was likewise earl of *Britany*, of *March*, of *Main*, *Tourain*, *Nants*, *Tholouse*, *Poitton*, *Limosin*, *Gascoign*, thence as far as the *Pyrenean* mountains. he had the kingdom of *Jerusalem* offer'd him, to which he had some natural title; because his father

Geffery Plantaginet was heir to *Fulk IV.* king of *Jerusalem.* in 1181. young king *Philip* of *France* committed the regency of the kingdom to him: *Matt. Paris.* he married one daughter to the king of *Sicily*, another to the duke of *Saxony*, from whom our present monarch is descended. as to the military capacity of *Henry II.* it would be an affront to the reader to enlarge upon it. 'tis a noble foundation for a history.

In the year 1177. he was made arbitrator between the king of *Navarre* and *Castile.* *hæc ideo dicimus,* says *Matt. Paris,* *ut notum sit omnibus, quantæ rex sapientiæ fuerit quantæque, magnificentiæ, ad cujus audientiam totius fere orbis concilia, & dubia principum discutienda, judicio pervenerunt.*

These are the authors which I consult, which *Mr. P——* calls *monkish annals.* and thus much was necessary for me to say, to vindicate from calumny so great a king, in whom our antient royal, *Saxon* blood revived.

After we have been treating of kings and princes, it grieves me, that I must again defile my hands, with answering scandal. p. 66. our antagonist gives his reasons, why the figures which I call *Henry II.* cannot be him, *viz.* because it seems to represent either king *Edward III.* or rather king *Henry V.* he always takes care to double them. and for fear his own eyes should fail him, he takes a hint from what I observ'd, of a collar being upon the king's breast: which he doubts not to be that of the *George.* now our novice, knows not that the collar or *torques* was the proper ornament of the nobility, as well as of kings: from the *Saxon* times. *Ingulfus,* p. 76. *opt. edit.* represents earl *Waltheof torque aurea circa collum insignitus.* in *Rapin's* prints of the kings of *England,* engrav'd by my friend *Vertue,* *William Rufus* is represented, with such a collar, as our *Henry II.* in the subterraneous chapel. I have a *folio* bound, containing above 100 prints of the monarchs and nobles, male and female, from *William* the conqueror to king *James I.* engraved by *Elstrake,* *Simon Pas,* &c. here *William Rufus* is represented with the same collar on: as likewise our *Henry II.* and *Edward I.* and *Edward II.* these are all done from antient pictures, the best lights they could have: and for habit, we have reason to think, more to be depended on, than the face. but this will teach us, to set a value on this figure in the chapel. both *that* and the queen seem to have had more accuracy bestow'd on them. they may be

be accounted originals, done by one perfectly acquainted with the Persons: tho' not perform'd with that delicacy of *Angelo* or *Bandinelli*, *Phidias* or *Praxiteles*, names with which Mr. P—— lards his dedication.

In that manuscript of *Bodenham's* aforementioned, being the arms, and account of all the nobility of *England* as created, from the conqueror to king *James I.* are the pictures of the kings. *Henry II.* has a knot of jewels hanging down over his breast. *Richard I.* has a collar on, compos'd of jewels. I need seek no further. this is enough to disannul our author's weak fummises.

In 70, 71. 72. pages, continues he to teaze us, with matters wholly impertinent, of great men being benefactors to his fancied hermit's chapel here. nay he is not content to make half a dozen altars at the place, but he must needs croud it further, with a chantry at the lower or little altar, as he calls it. and that one or two chantry priests officiated at it.

—— *Pergis pugnancia secum
frontibus adversis componere* —— again p. 75.

Before, he had told us, that two or three hermits likewise officiated to the devotions of the numerous travellers frequenting the several altars here. 'tis well he forgets to introduce their horses too, to *hypolites* altar. any one that ever was in this place, would wonder, how this croud could turn themselves round here, how they could get in and out. and would fear, that any ones head was turn'd, that had such a visionary imagination. p. 75. he adds further, that it is very probable, that some chantry, fraternity or guild was held here, at this same little altar, and that the figures, which I assign to lady *Roisja's* family, represent some particular members of the same chantry, who were remarkable for their benefactions, &c. to it.

These guilds or fraternities consisted sometimes of hundreds of people, always of numbers, and all were obliged to appear together, on their particular days, at celebration of divine service. I apprehend these fraternities of Mr. P——s were never given to feasting, as all other guilds were, but being mere *larvæ* specters, they might stand together in our oratory, like fairy elves in a circle, and take up no room. those that are not satisfy'd with this solution may be refer'd to *Guy's* hospital. the misfortune

fortune is, our author crouds all his knowledge, emptys his whole common place book, in one pamphlet.

It delights me, that I have only one objection more to answer, and that is, p. 74. this the *fluctus decumanus*, I wish it were to wash off all the filth. he will maintain, from the dress, especially from the men's and women's caps, that this work is 200 years later in time, than I assign it. he quotes a home-argument to prove it, in his own church, from carved heads in stone.

Not to insist on his error of affirming in the same paragraph, that they are *modern*, and proving it from *antient* figures in glafs-windows, and in stonework: in answer to this capital proof, I first observe, his reasoning here, is but of the same tenor, as that which runs through the whole work: 'tis form'd only from a partial consideration, as well as from a high prejudice. he does not weigh the whole of things. can any one suppose it reasonable from so unaccurate sculptures as ours and that he brings, to argue so peremptorily: or why may not the same fashion continue or prevail again, in 200 years time? but I shall go much deeper to examine this point, than the surface.

The history of the habits and fashions of the times, from the *Saxon*, down to the present, often has been an object of my inquiry. I apply'd it long since, to my own genealogy, for every 30 years, by the great helps I had for nine years together, from the members of the antiquarian society, when I was their secretary: many of whom belong'd to the heralds office.

Mr. P——s argument for the men's caps, is in p. 73. taken from that imperfect figure mark'd 2. in my plates, which I assert to have a helmet on, and that it should mean *William de Magnavile*, father of lady *Rosisia's* first husband. Mr. P.—— out of contradiction, will not suffer this to be an helmet, no more than he will suffer the person; but it appears to him rather to be a round bonnet, or cap, such as was worn by persons about the reign of king *Henry V.* and *VI.* when I again view'd this figure attentively, I could not alter my first sentiments about it, and must still declare, that it appears to me, to be a helmet. and there can no reason be given, on any probable account but this, why this figure only has such a square helmet on. if it were a cap, why should not all the rest of the figures

figures, have the like, being seven men in number, more. beside, if it were a round cap, it would not in the least prove it, to be of the reign of *Henry V.* and *VI.* because such caps were worn more or less, from the conquest to queen *Elizabeth's* time.

As to the female head dress, which he assigns to the year 1400 'tis equally inconclusive. the cap of the woman here represented, is the real dress of the women I write of. and that is sufficient for my purpose. it was worn long before, and was worn long after. 'tis certain the women in lady *Roisia's* time, wore this short head-dress in neat folds, like a vail, scarce reaching down to their shoulders, the plaits appearing handsomely underneath, on each side of their neck; which is meant by the turn at the bottom, in our carvings. at top, they had that square appearance, as we observe. to be fully satisfy'd in this point, let the reader consult the figures in *Montfaucon's monumens* above quoted, of the time we are writing of, and he will have pleasure and conviction. nay he may see the figures of some of the very persons we are speaking of: such as the whole effigies of our *Henry II.* as now upon his tomb at *Fontevraud*, in *Anjou*; that of his son *Richard I.* in the same place. he will see the intire figure of our queen *Elenor*, *Henry's* wife, her vail square at the top, and falling down above her shoulders in handsome plaits. she has likewise a cloth under her chin, which was sometimes used by the ladys of that age, sometimes not. but what is remarkable, there is exactly the same form of dress at the bottom of her neck on the monumental effigies, as on the figure of lady *ROISIA's* cutting; of queen *Eleanor.* which according to Mr. *P—s* way of speaking is a demonstration, that 'tis really queen *Eleanor.* he will likewise see the figure of *Berengaria* queen to *Richard I.* from her monument there. her vail as before, no chincloth. he will see the figure of *Elizabeth de la March*, queen to king *John*, buried there, the vail as before.

This was the dress from the conquest. for we find the same wore by *Maud* queen to *William* the conqueror, in that most antient picture, on a wall of the monastery at *Caen.*

Further, the ladys affectedly made it appear square at top. sometime by putting a circlet on the outside, above their forehead, as appears in figure 2. of table xxviii. *Montfaucon*, a daughter of *S. Lewis*, who was

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the

the son of that *Philip*, who gave so much trouble to our *Henry II.* and I shall hereafter quote instances to be seen at home. there are pictures too of the lords of the court of *France*, about that time, in *Montfaucon* which in their whole habit, are exactly like the men in our chapel.

There are other women whose vails are kept out square at top, by circlets put underneath the head-dress. these circlets, both those put on the outside and those on the inside, were adorn'd with flowers or jewels. the same fashion both for men and women lasted both in *France* and *England*, to the time of *Philip* the bald, 100 years after lady *Roisia's* time. for the intire figure of a woman, see that of *Blanch de Castile* queen to *Lewis VIII.* *Tome II.* table *XVII.* figure 2. she lived 1220. she has the same square vail on her head, without a crown, or circlet. her gown, bating the mantle royal, is exactly the same, as lady *Roisia's* females. there is another like figure, n^o. 3. in the same plate.

These are evidences beyond all exception, not imperfect, not dubious; as those must needs be, that he quotes from his own church, and at last, altogether inconclusive. for in the first place, his argument is false, or at best very precarious, which he draws from the stone heads in his church, being the same persons, as those named in the painted glass.

In the year 1745. having a journey which led me within a mile of *Ox-burgh*, I visited the church there. As soon as I enter'd the church yard, I discern'd, that the church, like most others, had been rebuilt. and particularly, that the west end only both on the north and south side the steeple, is of the old foundation. in the arch of the south west window is a head female with the dress we are disputing on, and of *Henry II.* time. I am positive, that the windows there, and on the other side the steeple are of that time. the remainder of the church and chancel has been rebuilt. all or most of the upper windows of the nave of the church, were glaz'd by *Sir Robert Weyland*: and had either his name or arms on them, and perhaps he rebuilt the church, perhaps not: only glaz'd the windows. but the argument produc'd by *Mr. P*—— from it, is of a very extraordinary kind. thus it is. “ in a window, says he, over the 4th arch of the church, on the “ north side, is *orate pro aia Dni Robti de Weyland, & Cecilie ux. ejus*, in an “ opposite window is his shield, a. on a cross, g. five escalops, o. and on “ the stones that support the arches of the said window, on the out side, are
“ two

" two heads carv'd, Sir *Robert* who dy'd 1385. and his lady. he with a bonet or cap ; she in a head-dress, like those at *Roiston*.

" Further, in the chancel, which was built about 1440. is the head of a woman carv'd in stone ; with the same dress, and serves as a pedestal to support one of the great beams or principals of the roof.

The intended argument here, is of an enormous length, what the logicians call a *Sorites*. observe, it begins at a window on the north side of the church, it stretches quite a cross the church, to the south side thereof. all this within the church, and in glass work : then it goes quite from the inside of the church to the outside, and there makes its conclusion, in stonework. so that it errs against all logical rules whatever. 'tis not just either in matter or mood. the premisses and conclusion are dissimilar. indeed this pretended argument is no better than one of those cobwebs which in autumn, o're spread all the ground. naturalists say, the spiders that make them, have the faculty of shooting them to considerable distance, taking advantage of the wind : so that they shall stretch across rivers, or from one tree to another, or from one side of a church to another.

Just so is Mr. P——s's argument here produc'd from his own church, and just as strong. if the name of Sir *Robert* and his wife are in the glass of the inside of the north window : then two *images* in stone on the outside of the south window, are the figures of Sir *Robert* and his wife.

But to be serious, the matter is really thus. Sir *Robert* made most of the glass of the upper windows of this church, as appears by their similarity : his name is on some : his coat of arms on others, and oftner than once, on several of them is *Ihu* meaning *Jesus*. and the great Saxon *M* meaning *Maria*. now very often in old times, when churches were to be rebuilt, they took the old painted glass of the windows and fitted it up for the new work : and likewise the old stones as far as they they would go : but especially the carved stones. very often the painted glass is of the second or third edition (if we so speak) since the stonework was made. tho' Sir *Robert* made the glass, perhaps he did not make the stone-work : and though he made some of the glass, he did not make all. Our churches are very seldom built the whole at one time ;

or rebuilt, altogether. they were built and rebuilt by several persons, at different times. and different persons commonly undertook to perform different parts of them, both glass-work and stone-work. as may be seen in the history of the last foundation of *Croyland* church. *Blesensis*, p. 118. so that there is no possibility of deducing a conclusive argument, of the nature that Mr. P—— aims at. we can make no inference from glass work to stone-work, in whole or in part : and *e contra*. and in the case alledged none can be more unluckily projected.

I observed on the south side of the church without, four windows out of five have this square female head-dress : some with men corresponding, some without. but all vastly unlike. now there's no reason why Mr. P—— should pitch upon the 4th window for Sir *Robert* and his lady's images more than the 2d or 5th. or the same reason would fix other two images to be our Saviour and the virgin *Mary*. they are all either old heads taken from the more antient church, for sake of the carving, or they are merely fanciful and grotesque, and indeed very poorly perform'd. there are the like corresponding on the north, and outside of these windows, men, women, and grotesque. some men's heads have a kind of night cap on or a coif : which indicates the time of the conquest, as may be seen abundantly in *Montfaucon's* tapestry, abovemention'd. some women have this square head-dress, some not. all very ill done. Mr. P—— has not made a compliment to Sir *Robert* and his lady by making any of these heads design'd for them : and in pitching upon these only of the 4th window of the south side, not the least reason.

The like must be said of that which he mentions to be in his quire, supporting one of the principals of the roof. 'tis one wretchedly carv'd female head, among a number of heads that support the rest of the principals, which are notoriously grotesque, the mere fancy of the carver. it cannot be infer'd to be the habit of the times (exclusive of other times) any more than the ridiculous grotesque figures, in the quire. the like in the church. for all the principals of the roof are supported by grotesque, rather diabolical figures, mere hobgoblins. and Mr. P—— might as well have found Sir *Robert* and his lady among them, as go to the outside of the church for them. of all the weak arguments in his book (and they are all so) this seems, as the last, the weakest, and the merriest.

I have

I have had a good deal of acquaintance, both with painted glass, and these carvings on our churches. and know, how far, with judgment, we may make some conclusion from these heads. I shall give an instance, by and by, from *Balderton* church. painted glass is of a gusto and age very different; set up at very different times, from before the conquest to the 15th century. perhaps made new two or three times, since the stone-work of the church was made. Therefore it must be very false argumentation, from the glass, to conclude the age of the stone-work. nor can we be sure, in churches that have been repair'd, of the age of the carving, in those parts that have been repair'd.

A careful observer of the fabrick of churches, can easily distinguish the old and the new parts, and give a very good guess at the age of the respective parts, from the manner of building, the ornaments, windows, &c. I see these kind of heads, which are the subject of our dispute, very often on the outside of churches, under the arches of the windows and elsewhere, and find they belong to buildings of the age we are writing on. but because I would not put off my conjectures in the case, as my adversary does, I shall give instances only from what is to be prov'd.

Stamford, *Grantham*, and abundance of other towns in our neighbourhood were royal demesnes, and therefore several churches near us, are dedicated to *Becket*; and built in and about *Henry II.* time. Mr. *Peck* tells us, of a chapel of this sort, on the south side of the bridge, at *Stamford*, founded 1174. it stood over the bridge.

Gretford church in my neighbourhood, is dedicated to *Becket*. 'tis built in form of a cross; in the porch some of the first rectors were buried, as was the custom. it cannot be doubted, but this and all churches so dedicated, were built in *Henry II.* time, or very soon after. there is a man's and a woman's head on each side the inward door of the porch or church door, on the south, and likewise on the outside, the porch door. both man's and woman's are exactly like these of the time we are speaking of. the woman's head square at top, a short veil, the folds not reaching the shoulders.

Bernake in our neighbourhood is a very antient church, which belong'd to the great *Waltbesf* earl of *Northumberland*, by him given to *Croyland*.

In a chapel on the north of the quire, in the wall, perhaps older than the present quire, though not so old as the original parts of the church, lyes two effigies's in stone, a man in armour, and his wife. I take them to be *Ralf de Bernake* and *Roisa* his wife, who contributed to the rebuilding of *Croyland* abby in the time of *Henry I.* as recounted in *Peter of Blois.* the woman's head-dress is exactly like what we have been describing, and has a circular chaplet round the top. the man was a croifader.

The church of *Burton* coggles near us, is dedicated to *Becket*, therefore of the age we are writing of. within the south porch, under the arches of the door leading into the church, are a man's and woman's heads. the woman's has our vail on, though the face is almost rubb'd off. but on the south side of the upper leads, are a man's and a woman's head in the stone-work disfigur'd with spouts in their mouths, to carry the water off. the woman's has the square vail on. likewise at the east window of the quire, is a man's and a woman's head. the woman's square at top, with a chin-cloth, crimp'd elegantly.

Basingthorp hard by, is likewise dedicated to *Thomas Becket*, and *Weldon*, *Northamptonshire.* under the arch of a window, without, on the north side, over the charnel house, a man's head and a woman's: the latter with the head-dress, we are discoursing of. all these churches are of like architecture. and from their manner, we can easily see what other churches near us, are of the same age. in many of them, are these same heads to be seen: but enough on this head.

After Mr. P—— has discharg'd his whole battery: then, like the *French*, he sings *Te Deum* without a victory, and thus recounts the execution he has done, in the six following corollarys.

1. "It appears then, says he, that there was an oratory with a hermit's cell at *Roiston*, in the *Saxon* age, long before the time of lady *Roisa*, so that she could not have any part in the founding of it.

I answer. this is a chimerical assertion of his, without the least shadow of reason to countenance it: and of which he has not given us one jot of a proof: as I have most copiously shewn. and that the whole stream of authority of all the great antiquarys, who have ever wrote, are against him; the

the evidence of domesday book is against him. if there be any such thing as reason in the understanding of mankind ; if there can be any evidence in the nature of things, or credibility of history : it is fact, that lady *Roisia* founded it, in the time of *Henry II.*

2. " It appears, says he, to have been the oratory of some one, or of a body of hermits and continued to be so, till its dissolution, in the reign of *Henry VIII.*

This whole paragraph is a collection of portentous absurditys, a body of hermits is false sense, false language. a hermitage in the market place of a great and trading town, is the most egregious contradiction. " it is almost incredible, says the excellent *Mr. Camden*, what a multitude of corn merchants, maltsters, and the like dealers in grain, do weekly resort to this market, and what a vast number of horses laden with corn, do on these days, fill all the roads about it.

Now can any man of a sound mind think, that great numbers of these market people, and travellers crouded between the women, with their butter and eggs, to go 30 foot under ground, for their devotions? the entrance is under the very bench which the women sit on, in the very market house, and the church is but a bow shoot off. and that a man can fancy this body of hermits, continued to officiate here, till its dissolution under *Henry VIII.* what a dream must this be, a thing of which not the least memory is left in the town? no doubt but it was worth while, for *Henry VIII.* to dissolve it. I wonder *Mr. P——* did not give us the yearly valuation of it, out of the augmentation office. but when a man can conceit this, to be the *heremitagium de Barkway*, and call'd so in the time of *Henry VIII.* that he can write and print and believe all this, is matter of astonishment, rather than of debate.

3. " It appears, says he, that the imagery bears absolutely a relation to sacred, and not to prophane history.

'Tis true, in my explication of the imagery, I have recounted *S. Laurence*, the *Virgin*, our *Saviour*, *S. Joseph*, *S. Paul*, *S. Katherin*, *S. John* twice, the *Virgin* twice more, our *Saviour* represented on the cross four times, *S. Christopher*; besides a cardinal, a bishop, &c. but these are not
saints

faints enough, in our author's opinion. he never saw on painted glass in churches, prophane history, as he calls it, or carvings, of whimsical figures, and altogether immodest. he never saw a king, or a queen, or hardly a lyon or a unicorn : painted in a church.

4. " It appears in part, says he, what images were enjoined to be in religious places set apart for worship, where the proper *station* of some saints was. and that the lady *Roisia* had no part in the carving of them : out of any private family view.

The fore-part of the conclusion fully opens the grand secret of this renown'd publication. turn to page 66. *the priveleges of mother church* want to be restored. the worship of faints, and more faints, their *stations* must be again establish'd and a multiplicity of altars, in these places. a new *British* or *Saxon* visionary faint *Robenia* must be canoniz'd. 'Tis pleasant to observe the reason he gives ; because *Conan* duke of *Britany* and *Richmond* founded a religious house at *Rowney*. now *Conan* was a *Norman*, and what had he to do with *British* or *Saxon* ? deplorable it is to make one's self the canal, for papists to convey to the publick, in *England*, their resentments, their invitations, or their tenets !

As for his *station* of faints, he said, p. 62. that S. *Christopher's* was at the north west end of a church : and ours is the north east. p. 58. he says, the sepulcher was on the north east side of the chancel : that which here he fancies the sepulcher, is on the north west. he is just as happy in the other part of the conclusion, that lady *Roisia* had no part in the carving of them, out of any private family view, or to represent any history of her own time. I say only in answer, and aver it, that lady *Roisia* may have carv'd every part of them, for any thing he has or can prove to the contrary. the rest I leave to the reader's judgment.

5. " Lastly it appears, says he, that the lady *Roisia* was not buried here, but at *Chikesand* in *Bedfordshire*.

This I largely and with the fullest conviction to a reasonable person, prov'd to be a conclusion, much too weighty to be laid upon *Leland's* authority. I do not question *Leland's* veracity. he saw perhaps an inscription of that nature, intimating her to be the founder ; perhaps, there was

was her image there. perhaps a cenotaph, perhaps her heart was buried there. any of these considerations come up sufficiently to his evidence. and I shew'd a wood of instances of the like nature, and where *Leland* has been alike mistaken, in a case exactly similar. but that lady *Roisia* was buried in her sepulchral chapel at *Roiston*, I believe, as much as that a body was found therein, which the whole town is witness of: or that I had a scull, nay her scull in my hand. I may say, every page in my first book, as well as of this, proves it: as well as such matters can be proved. I would ask our antagonist how he would account for a body being thus regularly buried in the place, in so large a quantity of the purest garden mold; consistent with his notion of the place being dissolved in the time of *Henry VIII*? who would be at the expence of carrying 150 load of fine mold into it, for the sake of burying one body? why should they do it? where should they get it? why should this be done, in the middle of the town, when the church and church yard is so near? but in lady *Roisia*'s time, there was no church, no church yard. nor could they with any reasonable conveniency, get so vast a quantity of fine garden mold, at any other time, than when this place was a down of chalk, cover'd with the native and delicate turf.

These things are absolutely unaccountable, upon any other *hypothesis* than mine. the regularity and simplicity of my whole scheme shews the probability of it: whilst the opposite absurditys, mere inventions thro' the whole book, shew, 'tis impossible that his should have any proper degree of probability, so as to merit the charge of printing, or any attention when printed.



C H A P. IX.

— quod si
*frigida curarum fomenta relinquere posses,
 quo' te Cœlestis sapientia duceret, ires.
 hoc opus, hoc studium: parvi properemus
 & ampli. Hor.*

The entrance of the cave as now. The cave a most noble monument of English history. The history of its founder. An explication of the imagery. Figures cut there, 1170. A group made aug. 10. 1173. A group cut feb. 2. 1176. A group cut nov. 25. 1177. A group cut jul. 25. 1185. A group cut jun. 23. 1187. Figures cut 1188. Of the Beauchamp arms again. The flat helmet. Head-dresses and habits again. Mr. P——s faith and charity.

WHEN the petulancy of our adversary, forced me to this present answer, the more I considered and read about it, the more light sprung up continually, toward confirming and illustrating my former account of the subject. I endeavour'd at the very first, to contract my writing about it, as much as I could. I have done the same, by this answer, yet it has grown under my hands much more than I design'd. for tho' conjectures may be made agreeable: yet to be tedious in them is a fault. however I should not be just to myself, if after I have been busy, in setting my opponent's work in a proper light; I should not make a recapitulation of my own: and thereby exhibit them together, before the reader, in order for his passing judgment.

I have almost done with the disagreeable part, finding fault: therefore with a calm and placid mind, may now invite the candid reader again to descend into lady ROISIA's venerable recess: with a mind like hers,

hers, who has seen the folly of the hurrys of publick life, and worldly splendors: retiring to the more agreeable business of contemplation; unmov'd at the malice of causeless enemys; and in obscurity protected from envy.

I have carefully consider'd the affair of our sepulchral chapel. 'tis a great work, and requir'd the purse, of one in high circumstances, to make it. nor could the purpose of so costly a design, be mean. some have been childish enough, to fancy this no other than a prison, made by those of the priory. and that the figures here cut, were the amusements of some *there* unfortunately confin'd, as if they who had a knife and time, to cut these figures, could not have spent their time and pains, in cutting a way out.

One cannot imagine, it ever belong'd to the priory. 'tis agood distance; the street or way to the church, and a watering pond between. perhaps the first passage into it, was by that place brick'd up, on the east, to be seen in my first plate. for thereby probably they drew out all the chalk, as they cut the place by degrees, more and more downward. when that was compleated, they made up the passage with good masonry, turning it as handsomely as they could, to conform to the arch of the bell. therefore the only true and designed entrance, was the present one, which had a ladder at bottom, as now. we often see the staircases in churches, up to the rood loft, contriv'd in this same manner: with a ladder at bottom. and the well of the stair-case, scarce more in diameter than ours.

Our adversary agrees in allowing it to be an original entrance; though he has omitted it, in copying my plate, for what wise reasons I know not; unless he fancys thereby, to make the world believe, he himself design'd it. this entrance is like a well, about 12 foot deep, about two foot diameter. 'tis monstrous to fancy this, as a publick entrance, into a publick chapel. the thing shews itself, as clear as the meridian sun, that it was made for the purpose I assign it, a sepulchral chapel. that it was to be entred, but now and then, by a single person, on some particular days; many of which we may very easily assign, as the anniversaries of saints. particularly the *podium* for prostration, shews plainly the purpose of her going there. it must be only a slender woman that could go down: and the grave shews sufficiently, the final purpose of making it; to be buried in

it, and the whole to be closed up as it was: and so intirely forgotten. and all this must needs be, before there was any town. for how can it be imagin'd, by a sober person, that any one, even a lady of the soil, should dig such a deep cavern, in the middle of a narrow street of a large town, in order to be buryed there? would not the magistrates rather confine her, as a person not sensible of what she goes about.

But on the other hand, upon supposition of the fact, being as I make it, the whole appears as a regular, a wise, and pious design. and the imagery, as I explain it, is exactly conformable to what the historians of that very time, unanimously deliver. 'tis as a most noble and authentic monument, and evidence of *English* history, extremely valuable, and highly to be accounted of. and whatever was that ladys view, who on reading my book in *France* (as I was informed) came over sea, on purpose to visit so remarkable and curious an antiquity; I doubt not, but she thought her pains repaid: for she must be a person, that had an elegant notion of things.

What I then publish'd, was with modesty and caution. I have learnt much more about it since, and can write with greater confidence. I have as much conviction about the truth of my *hypothesis*, as the nature of such things will admit. and some part of my conviction is owing to my antagonist, whose spleen, after all his diligence, and that of his coadjutors, could furnish him with no better arguments against it, or rather no arguments at all. I shall therefore with great brevity, make a recapitulation of the whole affair, with some addition. bespeaking a reader of common candor, that expects no other proof, then these things will naturally bear. I shall not repeat what I wrote in my former work, but refer the curious reader to look that over first. here I only add, what further occurs to me, on each particular.

Lady *ROISIA de Vere* (whose family and fortunes I have sufficiently enlarg'd upon) in the decline of life, having buryed two husbands, great men; her children all seperated from her; retreated to her house at *Nufels*, two little miles off the cross, she had formerly set up, here, and which from her, was called commonly, *Roises* cross. no doubt, but she had formerly liv'd at *Nufels*, perhaps when first a widow, in king *Stephen's* time, and then, most likely, erected her cross; a work as magnificent, as
became

became so great a personage. her husband *Magnaviles* estate, king *Stephen* had, for the most part seiz'd on, for his attachment to *Maud* the empress. this, was her first dower from *Magnavile*. we may then well imagin, she set up this cross between the years 1145. and 1150. her husband *Magnavile* was kill'd in *august* 1144.

About 20 years after she had set up this cross, she being a widow again, return'd to reside at *Neufels*. she certainly could not chuse a more agreeable place and country, being the finest chalk down high ground, diversity'd with rising hills and valleys; a lovely prospect, all round. Though *Reiston* was not then in being, yet the place must be a very great thoroughfare, where two of the greatest roads in *England* met. and 'tis natural to imagine, where so fine a turf will invite one to walk, one should often direct ones steps to these great roads, for the amusement, which passengers afford: and particularly to her own cross: being all her own ground.

By degrees, she entertain'd thoughts of cutting this campaniform chapel in the chalk cliff; destining it for her buryal place. I apprehend it was about the year 1170^e that she frequently went down there, to meditate on her latter end, and for devotion. her favourite son *William de Magnavile*, was at this time, with the king in *Normandy*. and he was equally a favourite with the king.

Though I said in my book, that she built a cell here, and took upon herself an ascetic life: yet I did not in the least mean, that she became a hermite and lived there altogether. my meaning is sufficiently explain'd, p. 44. "here in my opinion, debasing herself from the honours of her illustrious house, and the sumptuous way of living she had been accustomed to, she often chang'd worldly splendor, for an humble cell" and this gloomy cave.

I say there, it was *somewhat* in imitation of her grandfather, and some other near relations of hers, who took up the monastic habit. her grandfather *Alberic de Vere* founded the priory of *Coln, Essex*: and consecrated himself to religion therein. her brother *Gilbert de Vere* was abbot of *Selby*. another brother lived and dy'd a religious in *Chike* abby. he wrote of the miracles of *S. Osth*. another brother was bishop of *Hereford*.

'Tis evident, I meant only on those particular days, which she dedicated to devotion here, that she frequented the place. it was necessary, that a cell should be built, over the entrance of this subterraneous chapel. but that the place of her residence was *Neufels*. p. 47. I again fully shew my notion. " that after the death of her second husband, she retreated to " her mannor house of *Nufels*, and delighted herself in walking over the " beautiful turf of this chalk country. that she frequented the place by " the cross, for 20 years. that she went thither on particular days for meditation and devotion. and form'd the resolution of being buryed there, " in a place she had so long consecrated by acts of religion." p. 49. I mention her *frequenting* the place.

Having premised this, that the reader may carry in his mind a proper notion of her way of life here; the whole work of the imagery within this chapel, as explain'd by me, appears the most easy and natural a design that can possibly be imagin'd. the writing over the head of queen *Maud's* tapistry does not better explain the history there, in this manner. TV-ROLD HIC DEDIT ARMA WILHELM HAROLD EDW REGEM ECCLESIA S. PETRI APLI HIC RESIDET HAROLD REX ANGLORVM STIGANT ARCHEPS STELLA HIC EST WADARDVS ODO EPS WILLIELM ROBERT, &c.

P. 40. I suggested my opinion concerning that figure which I call lady *R O I S I A*; above her a crucifix, by the side a bishop. 'tis in the II. plate just above the two sepulchral figures in the *podium*. I suppose the crucifix might mean the cross, she erected here. there are four figures cut by the side of it, and another underneath, which may mean the travellers or spectators. and the bishop may possibly mean a real consecration of the place. both crucifix and bishop are imperfect, therefore not worth while to dwell upon them. but in case this was the truth, I would imagine these figures being toward what we may call the upper-end of the chapel, and opposite to the entrance, were first cut by our lady, and about 1170.

'Twas about this time, as I apprehend, she began this ascetic custom. 'Tis difficult in these our days of licentiousness and irreligion, to form a notion of the piety, of the times we are writing on. there is no idea left of it

it at present, among our great ones, who have thrown off even the very appearance of religion, in that most detestable practise of travelling on Sundays. it was a happy difference between them and us, if they inclined to superstition. I recommend the reading *Giraldus Camb. cap. 30. of Ireland*, about sanctifying the sabbath: he lived at this time. this induc'd them to found religious houses, in great number, magnitude, and revenue. infinite numbers went to *Jerusalem*, to fight against the *Saracens*, with the same intent: or contributed largely to it, or vowed to do it. many great men's images we see in churches cros leg'd: on this account. even kings and great men abandon'd the world, and consecrated themselves to religion. they were always building churches and chapels, and generally lived lives answerable to their works: rightly thinking that religion is their real life. to particularize only in monarchs: our great king *Henry II.* when a dying, caus'd himself to be carryed into the church, before the altar, where he confess'd his sins, and prayed, 'till he expired. his son young king *Henry* when dying, caus'd himself to be laid on a bed strewed with ashes, habited in sackcloth, with a rope about his neck, and in that posture gave up the ghost.

In the western part of our oratory is carv'd a larger crucifix in a square tablet. *S. John* standing on one side, the holy *Virgin* on the other. this we may call the altar of the place. 'tis in imitation of those painted and portable altars, of this and later times, which we sometimes see, made with folding doors. *Matthew Paris* describing *S. Alban's* shrine made now, mentions the crucifix with *Mary* and *John*, in relievo work. *vit. abb S. Alb.* p. 92. another; p. 108. there is another such an altar, but a little later in time, pictur'd in *Montfaucon's monumens* abovementioned. all the saints in this chapel have a cross cut in the lower part of their garments.

I have a portable altar-piece in alabaster, high raised relievo work, ancient. 17 inches high, of the same manner as that I have given above, with *John Baptist's* head. at bottom the three figures of *S. Katherin*. *S. Margaret* with their symbols; *S. Audrey*: all well carv'd. above, *S. Helena* with the holy cross, and many virgin martyrs. in the lower part of their garments, are small holes, where silver crosses were fix'd.

At the bottom of our *Saviour's* cross, in lady *ROISIA's* altar, is cut a saltire or *S. Andrew's* cross: which may perhaps regard the family
 abby

abby at earls *Colne* (where she was born) founded by her grandfather, to the honour of S. *Andrew*.

By what I can find, our devout lady (as I have said) began to make and frequent this place toward the year 1170. (to pitch upon an even number) the end of this year *Becket* was murder'd. *Matthew Paris* begins the year at *Christmas*, and makes it 1171.

When I review'd what I wrote, to explain the imagery in our chapel, it furnished me with a new argument, to persuade myself of the real truth of the scheme. for I interpreted the whole circle of figures, as done in a successive order, from left to right, in the method of common reading and writing: which is extremely natural: and adds great strength to the probability of the whole. we can hardly refuse our assent to it, or scarce think any matter of antiquity better prov'd.

I shall repeat no more than the heads of what I wrote in my book, to avoid tautology, but with some material additions. and to this purpose I have reprinted my plates, somewhat corrected, to accompany the account.

* A. D. MCLXXIII. august 10.

Next to that figure, which I hinted to be lady *ROISIA* herself, by the cross, and the first cut, of any in the chapel; is S. *Laurence* represented, standing, with the gridiron, his symbol, and instrument of his passion, in his hand. underneath him, the figure of the upper-part of a king, with a *fleur* crown; his arms spread forth, as in fear and amazement.

After our great monarch *Henry II.* had got rid of the troubles accruing from *Becket's* death: he thought himself in a state of perfect happiness and tranquility. he had just conquer'd *Ireland*, settled his great dominions on the continent, to his mind; and seemed to be at the highest pitch of grandeur. but the *French* king taking advantage of the uneasinesses of *Henry's* sons, form'd a most dangerous confederacy against him, which portended no less than an absolute dethroning. *Normandy* was assaulted by the king of *France*, assisted by the earl of *Flanders*, *Boloign* and *Blois*.

* T A B. II.

Henry's

Henry's son *Richard* raised the greater part of *Guienne*, to rebel. his son *Geffery* made an insurrection of the *Bretons*. the king of *Scots*, according to custom, by the instigation of the *French*, made an irruption into the northern countys of *England*. the earl of *Leicester* landed at *Southampton*, with an army of *Frenchmen*. young king *Henry* was at *Gravelin*, with an army of *Flemings*, waiting for a fair wind to invade *England*. many of the *Englisk* nobility sided with this grand alliance against the king.

Statim post pascha, says Hoveden, exarsit nefanda proditorum rabies; ipsi enim furore diabolico debacchati, circumquaque devastabant igne & gladio, terras regis anglie cismarinas, & transmarinas.

Marvalous was his prudence and courage that extricated him out of this formidable confederacy. the particulars I refer to the historians, as not my present business.

Thus our monarch a youth, when duke only, anno 1151 was attack'd at once, by *Lewis* king of *France*, by *Eustace* son of king *Stephen*, by *Robert* earl of *Perch*, by *Henry* earl of *Champaign*, by *Geffery* brother to young *Henry*. these had in imagination swallow'd him up, divided his estate among themselves: yet he soon clear'd himself from them all, with great honour.

Lady *ROISIA*'s family, both fathers and husbands were remarkably loyal and true to the king. particularly her son *William Magnavile* now earl of *Essex*, was one of his chief counsellors and generals. in the beginning of this year 1173 he was one that swore, on the part of the king, to the treaty with *Hubert* earl of *Maurienne*. *Hoveden*. *Hugh de Beauchamp* her brother in-law was another of the king's trusty friends. the last and most memorable defeat of the *French* king was at *Vernoul*, as I have at large related it, p. 29. where the most abandon'd treachery is joined with every unkingly quality. this great defeat was on *S. Laurence's* day, and cut the sinews of the grand confederacy against *Henry*.

At this time, no doubt, lady *ROISIA* redoubled her prayers and vows, for the king's success, on which the safety of her house, and all her friends depended. she thought her own life, not otherwise secure, in her obscure retreat. with a thankful heart to heaven, she cut this picture

M

of

of S. *Laurence* and the *French* king, to commemorate all the happy events of that year, especially so great and important a one, which gave so much joy to the king's friends and fear to his enemys: restored peace and security to the whole empire of *Henry II.*

This was the way of that time, to form an *æra* remarkable, by the saint's day, on which it happen'd. and they fancied, the saints had a hand in punishing mankind, for flagrant crimes committed on their days. I mention'd one, p. 31. out of *hypod. Neustriæ* of S. *James* punishing the perfidy of *Mathew* earl of *Boloign*, this same year. he had sworn fealty to *Henry II.* nevertheless he join'd the *French*, in attacking our monarch. his oath was perform'd on the reliques of saints (as then was the custom) and particularly on the hand of S. *James*, at *Reding* abby: therefore was he kill'd that very day, for his perjury. says *Walsingham. A. D. 1133* king *Henry I.* gave the hand of S. *James* to his abby of *Reding.* *Matt. Par.*

There is another story in *Benedict* abbot, pertinent to our subject. the Scots in their invasion had committed a horrid outrage in the church of S. *Laurence* at *Werkworth* in *Cumberland.* the same day, says he, God reveng'd the violence and injury offer'd to his martyr, by the capture of the Scots king, at *Anwic.* this was the year after, viz. 1174.

Let us then debate a little, upon this picture in our chapel. we cannot have a proper notion of the works of these times, unless we be acquainted with the notions of these times. they had then, the same extravagant opinion of the saints and their reliques, as the papists have now. the form of their oaths, as now that for the choice of the emperor, ends in, so help me God and all his saints. in queen *Maud's* tapistry before mention'd, duke *William* takes a very solemn oath of *Harold*, that he would keep the crown of *England* for him, after the death of king *Edward.* *Harold* stands between two chests of reliques of saints, in the church of *Bayeux*, where this tapistry is now kept. there he takes the oath, laying each hand on a chest. therefore they suppo'd (to speak the most favourably) that God punish'd perjury, to revenge the injury offer'd to his saints. so our excellent author *Benedict*, words it.

From

From this notion of things, they could not in a better manner, make a design, especially so compendious a one, to express and commemorate this great event of the flight of the *French* king, than lady *ROISIA* has here done, in these two figures. duke *William* caus'd *Harold* to take the abovesaid oath in the most solemn manner, in the cathedral of *Bayeux*, administer'd by *Odo* his brother the bishop, before all his court, and the ecclesiastics. yet only two persons depicted in the tapisstry, the duke and the earl.

Some may perhaps fancy, this picture of lady *ROISIA*'s may be as well apply'd to the taking of the king of *Scots*, as to the flight of the *French* king. I answer; the picture it's self shews otherwise; expressing by its arms expanded, a fright and a flight: an attitude not at all suitable to the king of *Scots* capture. besides king *Henry* was not concern'd in that action, but his lieutenant. nor was it by far of so near a concern, so interesting a nature to our lady *ROISIA* as that other, where her son and relations were all personally concern'd: where her heart overflow'd with joy, for an event, that sav'd her king, and country, and family, and even herself.

Were these two figures the only ones in this chapel, it would be difficult to fix them upon this event: but when we consider the whole imagery, of which this is only a part; when we see the circle fill'd up in a regular manner, with storys of the same nature, equally relative to the same person, that cut them; to her time: graphically described in the authentic history of that time: we may, with all the assurance, possible in such matters, affirm this to be the real truth.

Rex Francorum, cum sciret regem anglorum esse potentissimum. & animo amarum, fugam inire potius, quam pugnare decrevit. & sic a facie regis anglorum fugiens, intra galliam se cum festinatione recepit. Matt. Par. sicque ad dedecus & sempiternum sui opprobrium, cum exercitu suo, viliter & ignominiose an fugit; non ausus expectare impetum exercitus regis angliae. Bened. abb.

Why our lady should thus cut off the *French* king, by the midd'e, it cannot be expected, that I should give an answer. she had some reason perhaps, perhaps none. but 'tis childishness and ignorance to affirm, there

is any similitude, between this figure, and the emperor on *S. Laurence's* steeple in *Norwich*, in TAB. VI. that figure can shew but his upper-part, because his lower-part is behind the faint, and the gridiron. the posture of the king and the emperor are absolutely different, and their situation, their action and the passion design'd by it.

The same year on the 24th of *september*, *William de Magnavile* earl of *Essex* signaliz'd himself in taking prisoner, *Ingeram Castellan de Trie*, a great man, one of our king's enemys. *Hoveden*.

A. D. MCLXXVI.

25. *january*.

2. *february*.

This year began with an universal joy to the whole kingdom, as *Matthew Paris* tells us. the king had subdu'd all his foes, foreign and domestic; brought his rebellious son, the young king over with him: the same table entertain'd them both, the same bed-chamber. they made a progress thro' the kingdom *pacem singulis & justitiam tam clericis quam laicis promiserunt & id opere compleverunt*: they promised the kings peace and justice, both to clergy and laity, and in deed fulfilled the same. *William de Magnavile* earl of *Essex* was with them. he was with the two kings on passion day, the year preceding, when the young king fell down before his father, and did homage and swore fealty to him. *Bened. abb.* at that same time *Philip* earl of *Flanders* and *William Magnavile* took the cross, and vow'd a journey to the holy land. and at this time *Roger de Hoveden* was chaplain to the king.

The beginning of this year was exceeding memorable, by our great monarch, who was himself an excellent lawyer, providing for the due execution of the laws. for in the end of *january*, he held a great parliament of all the nobility temporal and spiritual, and of the commons of the realm; and in the most solemn manner enacted, what was called the assize of the realm. i. e. they appointed the six circuits, or assizes; pretty much the same as has been used ever since. To entertain the reader's curiosity in so great an event, as this was, so useful to the public weal, I have drawn out a comparative scheme of it, as then, from *Hoveden's* annals, and as now practised, according to the publication of it in the *Gazette*, this year.

1176.

{ Norfolk.
Suffolk.
Cantebrigesire.
Huntedunesire.
Bedefordesire.
Bukinhamsire.
Estfexe.
Hertefordsire.

{ Kent.
Surrie.
Suthantesire.
Suthfexa.
Berkfexe.
Oxenfordfexe.

{ Herefordfexe.
Gloucesterfexe.
Wirecesterfexe.
Salopsfexe.

{ Lincolnesfexe.
Notinghamfexe.
Derebifexe.
Staffordfexe.
Warwikesfexe.
Northamtesfexe.
Leicestersfexe.

1745.

Norfolk circuit.

{ Bucks.
Bedford.
Huntingdon.
Cambridg.
Norfolk.
Suffolk

Home circuit.

{ Hertford.
Essex.
Kent.
Suffex.
Surrey.

Oxford circuit.

{ Berks.
Oxford.
Glocester.
Monmouth.
Hereford.
Salop.
Stafford.
Worcester.

Midland circuit.

{ Northampton.
Rutland.
Lincoln.
Nottingham.
Derby.
Leicester.
Warwick.

1176.

1745.

Western circuit.

{ Wiltesire.
Dorsete.
Sumerfete.
Devonia.
Cornubia.

{ Devon.
Cornwall.
Somerfet.

Northern circuit.

{ Euerwikefire.
Richemundesire.
Lancastre.
Copland.
Westmerilande.
Northumberlande.
Cumberlande.

York.
Lancafter.

The intelligent reader will be able to make proper observations on these lists. our lady *R O I S I A* has commemorated it, by that group of figures, next to *S. Laurence* ; the three uppermost meaning the Purification of the blessed *Virgin* : and the undermost the conversion of *S. Paul*. *Post natale domini*, says Hoveden, *in festo conversionis sancti Pauli venit Dominus rex pater, usque Northampton, &c.* from *Benedict* abbot we learn more particularly, that this great assize was done at *Clarendon*, on the day of the conversion of *S. Paul*, and promulgated at *Northampton*, on the day of the purification.

There may be particular reasons unknown, why our lady thus recorded this matter in her oratory. I hinted, that her father had been a very eminent man in the law, and lord chief justice of *England*. a great lawyer, says *Mr. Echard*. *in causarum varietatibus exercitatum*, says *Matt. Paris*. a speech of his, recited in *Malmsbury*, p. 103. and in *Daniel*, p. 60. no doubt but her son the earl of *Essex*, had a due share in this important transaction. but probably one considerable reason was, that her great friend and relation *Richard de Lucy* justiciary was the chief projector of the whole plan. In the 10th year of our king, upon recognition made by the king, of the antient laws of the realm, he was one of those who undertook for the king's observance of them.

There

There was a very great intimacy as well as relation, between his family and our lady's. they were too, both of the same party. *Ranulf de Bobun* earl of *Chester*, was nephew to our lady, by her aunt *Maud de Vere*, daughter to *Aubrey de Vere*. I. earl of *Guisnes* who came in with the conqueror. his son *Hugh Kiveloc* earl of *Chester* married *Beatrice*, daughter and co-heiress of *Richard de Lucy*, who was lord chief justice of the realm. her first husband's father *Gefferey de Magnavile* and *Richard de Lucy* were mediators between the abbot of *S. Albans* and *Albany* earl of *Arundel*, *Matt. Par. vit. abb. S. alb. p. 88.* *Richard de Lucy* did the king most eminent services, in the year of the great confederacy against him, above specify'd. he with his relation *Humphrey de Bobun* the king's constable, totally routed the traitorous earl of *Leicester*, with his adherents, and ten thousand *Flandrians*, which he had brought over with him. *Hoveden. Camden's Britt. p. 369.*

After this, the beginning of the next year, *Richard de Lucy* demolish'd the town of *Leicester*, and all the king's enemys thereabouts; therefore deservedly was he stiled, counsellor of state, chief justiciary of *England*, and protector of the kingdom in the king's absence.

This *Richard de Lucy* was related another way to lady *ROISIA*. his eldest daughter *Maud* was married to *Robert I. Fitzwalter*, whose daughter was married to lady *ROISIA*'s son *William de Magnaville*. he was her neighbour, as well as relation. he built the castle of *Onger* in *Essex*. just by is *Norton Mandevile*, as belonging to the family of her husband: whose castle of *Plessey*, is but a little way off.

In 1178 this *Richard de Lucy* founded the abby of *Erith* in *Kent*, and dedicated it to *Thomas a Becket*. the next year sated with honour, and tired of worldly affairs, he surrendred all his great dignities into the king's hand, and retired to his abby, and there ended his days. *Hoveden, p. 337. Matt. Paris. Weaver*, an eye witness, gives us an account of his body found there. p. 777.

After his death, the king made some alteration in the affair of the affizes; which shews, that the first establishment was plan'd by *Lucy*. *Hoveden* gives it us, at large. but it did not last long. for the first scheme prevail'd, and continued to this day. and this carving before us, of lady *ROISIA*'s is a most noble monument of it. They

They that cannot enter into the genius of these times, like our antagonist, may not see at first, the propriety of it. but saint's days were the general kalendar of such events as they wanted to remember. and much, too much was attributed to their power and intervention, in human affairs. for instance, when *Richard de Lucy* and his associate *Humphry de Bohun* fought and vanquish'd the earl of *Leicester*, near *Bury*; they took along with them, the banner of king *Edmund* the martyr, *pro signo*, says *Hoveden*, *et ordinatis aciebus suis in virtute Dei & gloriosissimi martyris sui Eadmundi, percusserunt aciem in quo Comes Leicestriae erat.* and our most christian king *Henry II.* went a pilgrimage the ensuing year, to *S. Edmund* at *Bury*, and to *S. Audrey* at *Ely*: as it were to make acknowledgement of their protection.

A. D. MCLXXVII. 25: november.

Next is the figure of *S. Katherin* with the symbol of a wheel, as usual. in the festival of *Easter*, 1175, *Philip* earl of *Flanders* and *William de Mandevile* earl of *Essex* lady *ROISIA*'s son, *Hugh de Lacy* and others took upon them the cross; with many more nobles and commons, and vow'd to go to the holy land. After *Easter* this year, they went and obtain'd a signal victory over the *Infidels*, on *S. Katherin's* day; which I mention'd at large in my book. The *Infidels* fancied, says *Benedict*, that they saw a celestial host descend and fight against them. the christians slew more than 100,000 of them, and took many prisoners. *factum est hoc praelium ad laudem & gloriam Domini nostri Jesu Christi, anno ab incarnatione, 1177. in planitie de Rames, die sancte Katerinae virginis & martyris.* *Matt. Paris.* therefore our lady cut this figure of the saint, to commemorate that transaction, so much to the glory of her son; and for her to meditate on, upon the anniversary; and to pay her vows, for the same. *Matt. Paris* acquaints us, this year, with the form of the vow made by the king of *England* and *France*, to go together to the holy land. this year *Hugh de Beauchamp* her brother in law went with *Joana* the king's daughter to be espoused to *William* king of *Sicily*. king *Henry II.* was personally a lawyer, and this year made the award of the great controversy, between the king of *Castile*, and king of *Navar*. *William de Magnavile* was a witness to it.

* On the right hand of *S. Katherin* is a great cross. *Hoveden*, in his account of this victory, writes, that the *Infidels* saw our *Saviour's* cross, which the bishop of *Bethlehem* carried before the christian army, stretch'd its self out miraculously up to heaven: which affrighted them exceedingly, and was one cause of their defeat.

I leave it to the reader's judgment, whether this or that account I gave before, of this figure, be most eligible: as likewise, whether it does not seem likely, that the great crucifix adjoining, or altar tablet, with the hearts and hands, may not regard the ceremony of vowing the croisade, which was always done at the altar, and before a bishop.

The next figures between this and *S. Christopher*, must infallibly mean *S. Katherin* in prison, and the dove feeding her. to dispute this, is the greatest impertinence, unless with pope *Innocent X.* we profess, we have never studyed divinity. the wonderful victory obtained against the *Infidels*, wherein her son had so great a concern, being in the opinion of those times, as now among the papists, much owing to the good-will of the saints, would induce our lady, to read over the history of her life, where this story of the saint is recorded.

Farnham in *Essex* was the estate of the *Mandeviles*. the story of *S. Katherin* is depicted in the windows, with *Latin* verses underneath. *Salmon's Essex*, p. 158. most probably owing to this memorable occasion. This year, the kings of *Wales* did homage to our king *Henry*. and he made his son *John* king of *Ireland*.

Our author *Benedict* abbot being then prior of *Canterbury*, was this year made abbot of *Peterborough*. he built the most magnificent front of *Peterborough* minster, as now it appears: except that chapel very improperly plac'd since, in the middle arch. this is the original idea of portico's in the front of cathedrals: as *Ely* dome, was the original of cupola's, in the middle of these edifices. this dome at *Ely* stands on eight columns. the capitals of each are adorn'd with historys, of the life and acts of *S. Audrey* well cut, in *basso releivo*. *Benedict* likewise built the chapel to *Thomas a Becket*, now standing near the great gate, leading to the cathedral, of *Peterborough*.

A. D. MCLXXXV. 25. july.

Next, is the figure of *S. Christopher*, almost under the descent into the chapel. the saints formerly, and now among the papists, were thought to have their particular provinces and powers, for the benefit of mankind. some to heal particular diseases and the like. *S. Christopher* had great power in preventing storms, tempests, earthquakes and lightning, &c. and their dreadful effects. about the beginning of this year, in *april* was a most remarkable earthquake : which probably was the immediate occasion of lady *ROISIA* cutting this figure. but the world for some years preceding had been exceedingly alarmed, with these ministers of the divine vengeance.

In 1178 there was a very great deluge in our *Lincolnshire Holland*, the old sea-bank being broke, and the whole country destroy'd, *John abb. of Peterborough, chron. Mailros, Hoveden.* 1179 the church and city of *Rochester* burnt to the ground, a miraculous lifting up of the earth at *Greenhall* by *Darlington*. so that it stood like a tall tower from nine in the morning till even, and then fell down with a horrible noise, and left a deep pit, which remained. *Hoveden.* public calamitys abroad, as well as nearer. this same year 1179 there was a famine in the holy land, where it had scarce rained for five years together. *Fuller's h. war.* 1181 there was lightning and thunder, great and terrible, tempests and inundations in divers parts of *England*, and a comet in *july. chron. mailros.* in 1184 and 1185 the astrologers alarmed the world exceedingly, about the great conjunction of the planets then approaching, in *september* 1186. in *libra.* which would produce earthquakes, famine, lightning, tempests, &c. *Hoveden* gives a large account of it, in prose and in verse, the compositions of those times. *Benedict abb.* says, *Corumfiza* a *Spaniard* wrote of it : and frier *Anselm* of *Worcester.* there was likewise a remarkable eclipse of the sun. 1185 a great earthquake throughout *England*, such a one as had never been known before, in the month of *april. chron. Mailros. Benedict abb.* an eclipse of the sun the first of *may*, so that the stars appear'd. *ib.*

These matters would unavoydably fill mankind with dreadful apprehensions, which perfectly well accounts for the image of *S. Christopher* now cut here. and no doubt but it became a fashion, to paint him in churches about this time. the great earthquake on 17. *kal. May* as *Benedict* tells us,

us, fixes *S. Christopher's* image to this year, as an indelible character of time: and what Mr. P—— would call a demonstration.

'Tis a mere chimera with our antagonist, to make that cross on the right hand of *S. Katherin*, to be a palmer's staff, and an altar. for a palmer's staff may be seen in every book of heraldry, under the name of palmer. but let him look on the picture of the seal of *Richmond* free school, p. 254. of *observ. on Reg. hon. Richm.* and he will find a compleat pilgrim, with hat, beads, staff and scrip. the staff had two knobs upon it and a hook to hang their bottle on. whether this really be *S. Christopher's* staff, or our *Saviour's* cross in the holy land, we may well enough say, that all this part of our oratory, from this cross, to *S. Christopher* inclusive, belongs to the holy land history. and whoever reads the accounts of these times, will see how much it excited every one's attention: besides that family concern, which engag'd lady *ROISIA*; her son's expedition. and further, at this time, *Roger de Mowbray* her son in-law, and *Hugh de Beauchamp* her brother in-law, were in the holy land. *Hoveden*, 1186.

This very year *Heraclius* the patriarch of *Jerusalem* and *Roger* the master of the hospitalers came into *England*, offering our monarch the keys of the city, of the church of *Bethlehem*, of our lord's sepulcher, of the church of the resurrection, of the tower of *David*, and the kingdom of *Jerusalem*. *Matt. Paris*. *Baldwin* archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Ranulf de Glanville* chief justiciary of the kingdom, *Walter* archbishop of *Roan*, *Hugh* bishop of *Durham* and many other prelates and nobles of the king's dominions, here and beyond sea vow'd the croisade. *Hoveden*. in 1185 our *Henry II.* and the young king of *France*, resolv'd to go on the croisade, by the persuasion of the archbishop of *Trye*, but the *French* king's treacherous proceedings, broke their measures. this was in *january* 1186 at *Gisors*. king *Henry* sent the archbishop of *Roan*, and *William de Mandevile* earl of *Essex* and *Albemarl*, *Ranulf de Glanville* chief justiciary to pacify him, and made a truce, to the feast of *S. Hilary* next. *Hoveden*. *Matt. Paris*. in 1187 *Richard* the king's son vow'd the croisade. *Hoveden*, p. 363. in 1188 *Frederic* the emperor the like.

A. D. MCLXXXVII. 23. june.

Next, we survey that group of figures, containing a large piece of history, which finishes the whole circuit of our oratory. it relates to the pacification made that year, between our monarch and the *French* king. *William de Magnavile* earl of *Essex* and of *Albemarle* was one eminent in his counsels, and command of his armys, at that time. it was done by the pope's legate *Octavian*, who is well represented in pontifical habit, the cross in his left hand, his right, in posture of commanding. *Hugo de Nunant* the king's chaplain carries the cross, and holds up his left hand, in like commanding posture. for they were order'd by the pope, to fulminate excommunication, against that power who appear'd obstinate: that the business of the croisade might not be hinderd. for the holy land was in the utmost danger of being lost; and was indeed lost immediately after.

" Thus *Benedict* abbot. on the day before S. *John Baptist*, they prepar'd to fight: but by the mercy of God, and command of pope *Urban*,
 " peace was made. for he had given his mandate for excommunication to
 " those that resisted. so the archbishops; bishops, abbots, earls, and barons
 " assembled, of both kingdoms, would not suffer an engagement;
 " but advised the monarchs to make a peace, or at least a truce; according
 " ing to the pope's injunction. their counsel prevail'd, and a truce of ten
 " years was agreed on. *Hoveden* the same.

When I re-examin'd my plate by the original, I found the crowned figure on the right of *Hugo de Nunant* to be really the *French* king. for his crown is *fleure*, and he is cut off by the middle, as his father's figure under S. *Laurence*. so that we see our lady made it a point, thus to represent the *French* king. her reason I am not acquainted with; I will not say, it was a piece of female resentment. there are some more imperfect figures scatter'd here and there, belonging to this group. but the principal are the two religious and the two kings. ours is dress'd in complete armor, and by looking carefully upon it, I discern'd the cross, importing his having vow'd the croisade. *Hugh de Nunant* is call'd bishop elect, in the beginning of 1188. and consecrated soon after. *Hoveden* p. 366. *Benedict* abb. in two places. so little reason had our adversary to cavil about it, p. 32. *Nunant* is named among those that were present, when the king of *England*

land and France finally agreed about the croisade: which shews he was at that time, beyond sea. *Giraldus Cambr.* wrote *Nunant's* life.

Reges anglie & Francie susceperunt crucem 13 kalendas februarij. 1186-7. Matt. Paris.

The two armies stand at a little distance, as ready to engage. the office of legate of the pope gave the party an authority to assume the highest honour and power. thus cardinal *John de Creme* coming into *England* in that quality, officiated in the cathedral of *Canterbury*, pontifically, in the place of the archbishop, though he was only a presbyter.

Hugo de Nunant had been ambassador three years before, to the pope. Mr. P.— in his learned notes upon himself, at the bottom of p. 34. maintains, there was no image of a crucifix on the archiepiscopal cross: though at the same time, he acknowledges this figure once, to be archbishop *Becket's* cross bearer. look into *Stephanides's* life of *Becket*, put out by my friend Mr. *Sparkes*, p. 42. there you find the archbishops cross had a crucifix upon it, *crucifixi, quam tenebat, imaginem respiceret.* in the next page, *respecta crucifixi imagine* speaking of the cross of the archbishop.

A. D. MCLXXXVIII.

We have the lower part of the imagery to finish, in TAB. III. beginning with the effigies of king *Henry II.* and *Elenor* his queen. this may be called the only original of him left, done whilst he was alive, and by one well acquainted with him, personally. lady *ROISIA* was so exact, as to mark his collar. so the ornamental dress upon the queen's neck, is exactly like that of her effigies, on her monument at *Fonteverard*; which together with her husbands, is given by *Montfaucon.* on his left hand is another crucifix or altar-tablet of a smaller size, with *S. John* and the *Virgin* repeated: though it is under the greater altar-tablet. this shews how fallacious a notion Mr. P.— has entertain'd, concerning five distinct altars in this place. there seems to be an arch under this altar, where the cross is, and the hearts, and hand, as before. most likely, this arch is the place of reliques under the altar, as then was the custom.

I am persuaded, this means the king vowing the croisade, before the altar, as was the custom. it was done 13. kalend. february 1186-7. *Matt. Paris*, as was hinted. and again before the archbishops of *Rhemes* and *Trye*. in 1188. *Matt. Paris*, *Hoveden*.

The holy land was intirely lost last year, *Jerusalem* taken, a general consternation o'respread *Europe*, as appears by the letters of princes on this occasion, to be seen in *Matt. Paris*, p. 149. *Hoveden*, p. 363, &c. our lady *ROISIA*'s son in-law *Roger de Mowbray*, was taken prisoner and dyed ; her brother in-law *Hugh de Beauchamp* was kill'd.

Now the tenth penny was order'd to be collected of all moveables or personal estates, throughout the whole kingdom. and the king held a great parliament at *Gedington* in *Northamptonshire* now the duke of *Montagu's*, where these orders were promulg'd, and strictly put in execution. this was on *Lady-day*, 1188. of all the bishops, earls, barons, commons, and convocation. *chron. Mailros*. *Hoveden*.

There remains now to be consider'd, only that long row of images, 13 in number, reaching from the lowest and least crucifix, to the grave : as we see them in T A B. III. I find not the least reason, to change my opinion concerning them, in general, or in particular. our lady design'd them here, about this year 1188. as family pictures.

The first figure bears a shield with the arms of the *Beauchamps*. I assign'd it to be *Hugh de Beauchamp*, the father of lady *ROISIA*'s husband ; who had been in the holy wars, and therefore took this coat. and at this time, coats were generally become hereditary. so *Montfaucon*, who says this was under *Lewis VII.* or the young, who began to reign, 1138. our *Fuller* lowers it somewhat. but this, as all such matters must be understood to be done, not all at once, but by degrees. in his church history, p. 170. thus he writes, " coat-armor was fix'd in familys in the beginning of *Henry III.* finding before that time, the warlike devices of " the sons, not the same with the fancys of the fathers, and their grand- " children differing from both." my antagonist out of a wantonness of contradiction, will needs have it to be *Richard* earl of *Warwick*, in the time of *Henry V.* and pretends to give us his title to it. not only so, but carries forwards the head of my genealogy, to this *Richard*. a most notable title
to

to a picture in a sepulchral chapel! why could he not as well have made it *Thomas de Beauchamp* senior and junior, or *Guy de Beauchamp*, or *William de Beauchamp*, all earls of *Warwick*? I have a good reason (as it appears to me) why *Hugh de Beauchamp* should be here plac'd. the same as would induce me to hang up my wife's father's picture in my parlor. but he gives us his will and pleasure only for a reason; or a reason altogether as inconclusive: *viz.* that he was a great friend to the order of hermites. and then to prove it, tells a tedious tale of this *Richard*, founding a chantry in *Warwickshire* for two priests, to pray for his soul. this is all along his vague way of reasoning. but this neither was a hermitage, nor did an order of hermites (as he styles them) live here: or if it were so, does *Richard's* founding a chantry a long way off prove, that he was a friend to hermites here, and none of them all in the least prove, or shew any shadow of reason, why we should believe this to be *Richard de Beauchamp*. and we may depend upon it that if I had made it, *Richard de Beauchamp*, he would have made it any body else: for contradictions sake.

Suppose, I allow, that this figure is represented here, and in heraldical books, with this coat of arms proleptically and before he really bore such arms: still it is no more than what our antagonist himself has done, by his great friend pope *Sixtus*; (whom he makes double like the two *Sofia's*) him he gives the *tiara* to, or triple crown, in our chapel, who liv'd *A.D.* 260. yet he owns, that the *tiara* was first worn by *Urban V.* in 1062. an anachronism in him, of 1100 years is nothing: but in lady *ROISIA* of 10 or 20 years only is unpardonable. now tis not impossible, that lady *ROISIA* seeing her husband bear that coat, might likewise affix it to his father. without having actually seen his father. but I cannot see the least reason to disbelieve, that he actually bore it: as having been in the first croisade: which gave him sufficient title, as appears in next *cap.* when we speak of the cross in heraldry. but let us examine the case.

"*Hugh de Beauchamp* here pictur'd lived in the conqueror's time: yet
 "I say, that about the time of the second croisade 1177. they began to
 "take up arms, and that the crosses had respect to the croisades." there-
 fore says my antagonist, "this figure cannot be *Hugh de Beauchamp*,
 "who lived near 100 years before."

'Tis

'Tis true, that I not dreaming of so severe a scrutinizer, express'd my self in a lax and general manner. which he greedily snatches at. tho' if he knows any great matter in heraldry: he must understand my meaning well enough. but that was not his task. the matter is thus.

Coat-armor became most famous and hereditary in familys, about the time of the second croisade in 1177. but it was in use at the first and a long time before the conquest. still this, as all other things, became general and notorious, by degrees. coats of arms were first used with monarchs, then with nobles, lastly with gentry. so they became hereditary, first with monarchs, then with nobles, lastly with gentry. but this too, must be understood in a lax way. for instance.

King *Stephen*, because he came into *England* under the sign sagittary, and gain'd his first battle, by means of his archers, he left off the bearing of *Stephen* of *Blois* his father, and of *William* the conqueror his grandfather, and took the figure of *Sagittarius*. *Guillim*. p. 213. this shews the mixt nature of coat-armor at this time, partly hereditary, partly arbitrary. and is an answer sufficient to Mr. *P*——s argumentation from Sir *William Dugdale*: which gives him great exultation, in his 17th page.

But still we must affirm, the first croisade 1095 began to fix these matters. it made coat-armor necessary, for distinction of persons when vizarded and cloathed in mail. and it is as natural for a son to claim the honour gain'd by his father, testily'd in his coat armor: as to claim his titles, and dignitys, or his mannors and estates.

The cross crosslets are the *Jerusalem* arms, the most incontestable mark of a croisade. our *Hugh de Beauchamp* actually went in the first croisade with *Robert Curthose* duke of *Normandy*. he is first nam'd and the only one, by name, by *Fuller*. what reason is there, that we should doubt of his title to these arms, or that he actually bore them? did not *Stephen* earl of *Albemarle* brother to the earl of *Champagne* bear a cross flore verrey, because he went on the first croisade? and did not *William le Gros* his son, father in-law to lady *ROISIA*'s son *William le Magnavile* bear the same arms? and innumerable more on the same account. therefore to wrangle about this, is no more than empty cavil.

I have

I have many old folio manuscripts of history, heraldry and the like, which were in the library of *Wyngfield Bodenham*, the great antiquary and lover of heraldry. he lived at *Ryhal* near us. a curious gentleman, to whom *Guillim* gives a splendid character. to his collections we chiefly owe *Wright's* history of *Rutland*. one of these manuscripts gives an account, of all the nobility created since the conquest, to the beginning of our civil wars; with their coats of arms finely drawn and illuminated. p. 9. is our *Hugh Beauchamp* created by the conqueror, baron of *Bedford*, with these same arms. g. a fess between six crosslets o. p. 10. is *William* or *Walter Beauchamp* his brother, who likewise came into *England* with the conqueror: and was created baron of *Elmesley*. he bears the same arms, and is the ancestor of *Beauchamp* earl of *Warwick*.

Under *Edward I.* this manuscript recites *William Beauchamp* baron of *Elmesley*, who married *Isabel* heiress to *William Mauduit* earl of *Warwick*. the person, who Mr. P—— pretends, used not these crosslets: yet here his arms are depicted with them; and so if you consult 100 books in the herald's office, you will find the like.

What he quotes from Sir *William Dugdale*, is of no manner of weight, viz. "that *William de Beauchamp* earl of *Warwick*, who died in 1298. bore for his arms, gules, seme of cross crosslets, with a fess or: which cross crosslets were by him added to his coat, for his father used them not." Sir *William* does not say, nor can it be prov'd, that *William de Beauchamp* first used the crosslets: or that they were not used before by his progenitors, though his father used them not. 'tis notorious to every body vers'd in these study's, that this coat is the most antient coat of the *Beauchamps*, and was used before this *William de Beauchamp*, or his father, on account of their *Jerusalem* pilgrimages. For instance, *Fuller* in his holy war, p. 20 speaks of a *Beauchamp* that went thither with *Robert* duke of *Normandy*, the conqueror's son, who was our very *Hugh*, here depicted in *Roiston* chapel. *Daniel* mentions him, p. 48 of his history, as the leader of the *Englisch*. *Roger de Hoveden* mentions 1186. a number of croisaders going to the holy land, *Hugh de Beauchamp* lady *ROISIA*'s brother in-law. can it be doubted, that these *Beauchamps* used this coat?

I mention'd in page 13 of my book, that the croisade humour began in 1096, when *Stephen* earl of *Albemarle* went with *Robert* duke of *Normandy*,

mandy, who was grandfather to lady *ROISIA*'s daughter in-law. he from hence bore gules a cross *fleur verry* argent and azure. and so it is depicted in my fine manuscript of *Wingfield Bodenham's*, in the time of *William* the conqueror. the reader may see his picture at full length, in his military habit, adorn'd with this coat, standing behind *William* the conqueror, holding the mace in his hand, in the 1. p. of *reg. bon. Ricm.* publish'd by *Roger Gale*. the croisade humour reviv'd again 1147. when *Aubrey de Vere* went to *Jerusalem*, and they bore crosses that went on that pious expedition, which was a great occasion of coats armorial. and now *Aubrey de Vere*, lady *ROISIA*'s brother divided his coat by a cross, for before that time, they bore first a *canton seme de fleurs de lis*, and then they plac'd a star or mullet in that canton, which was another bearing, that regarded the croisades. coat armor was borne before the croisades, but those expeditions made the fashion more universal, among so many different nations, for distinction of person. in time, the fashion became annexed to familys, and coats of arms hereditary: nevertheless after they became hereditary, 'tis notorious, that people chang'd them at pleasure. sometime a man left off his paternal coat and took that of his wife, or of some of his own or wifes ancestors: sometime they took one intirely new. thus *Bigod* earls of *Norfolk* from *Henry I.* time, bore parte p. pale o. and az. a lyon rampant g. but *Mr. Camden*, p. 317. says, one of them used a cross. so the *Villiers* at first bore sa. 3 cinquefoils a. but in the reign of *E. I.* *Sir Nicolas de Villiers* going into the holy land, changed it into five scalops o. on a cross g. so *Berkley* family bore at first a plain chevron. on going into the holy land, they filled the field with 10 crosses patte o. very many more examples may be brought.

And this consideration alone is answer sufficient to all our antagonist says, both now and when he resumes this argument (which as usual he calls a demonstration) when he comes to p. 67. then he is fond of repeating my fancied contradicting of myself.

For instance, he is again finding fault with the *Beauchamp* arms in our chapel. He says the *Beauchamp's* branched out into many noble familys, and each branch had its particular arms. this is well known of the *Beauchamp's*, and all other great familys. he should have added, that particular branches were not constant in bearing the same arms, and therefore what he wants to deduce from his harangue, his argument like all the rest,

rest, is but a rope of sand and draws no conclusion. after all his pretended complication of my errors and his own *demonstration*, it ends in this. the person I say is *Hugh de Beauchamp*, he is (*as I conceive*, says he) the great and noble *Richard* earl of *Warwick* in the reign of king *Henry V.* and then he gives you his pedigree, chiefly copyed from mine, and deduced from *Eudo Dapifer*, *Gefferey de Magnavilla*, lady *Roisia* and the persons that I wrote about. all the difference between us is, he has given us only lady *Roisia's* first husband: for if he had set down her second, he must have named our *Hugh de Beauchamp*, which is an abomination to him,

I have given a plain reason, or title why lady *R O I S I A* cut the figure of this *Hugh*, because her husband's father. he, to be even with me, tells us the title, this *Richard* earl of *Warwick* had, to be cut in this chapel. he makes him a descendant of lady *R O I S I A's* first husband. therefore lady *R O I S I A's* first husband's descent in the 9th generation had a *title* to be cut in the chalk here: but the father of her second husband had no *title* at all. a very cogent reason this! and so he goes on, to tell a long tale of this *Richard's* being a friend to hermits, another *title* he had to this chalk-image: in short, no man alive, but one occupy'd with a perverse spirit, would trouble the reader with so much dull fustian which amounts to no more than this; Dr. *Stukeley* says, this is *Hugh de Beauchamp*, and though there appears a very manifest reason for it; yet I will have it to be *Richard de Beauchamp*, or any other *Beauchamp*, rather than the person he assigns. his beadroll of heraldical learning, p. 68. is much more judiciously accounted for in *Ferns Lacies nobility*, p. 46. where he gives the reasons of diversity of arms in the same and kindred familys. again, p. 67. *Lacy*.

What he says further about it, is the very profoundest dregs, new stirred up, of his wrong notion, of this place having been a hermitage chapel, and a public hermitage chapel too, in the very middle of a populous town, and in the very market place thereof; of which I have said sufficiently already. it needs no confutation more than the bare proposition, to any reasoning person.

To draw this debate into a very narrow compass, 'tis thus. he says, p. 17. that *William de Beauchamp* earl of *Warwick* who died 1298. bore the crosslets. but his father *used them not*. I add *Guido* his son earl of *Warwick*.

bore *cheque* or and az. a *chevron ermin*, being the arms of the earl of *Perch* which his father used not. but *Thomas de Newburgh* earl of *Warwick* afore-time quartered it ; from the wife of *Henry de Newburgh* the first *Norman* earl of *Warwick*. a whole figure of *Henry* may be seen in the first page of *Reg. bon. Richm.* standing behind *William* conqueror. the son of *Guy* bore the arms of *Beauchamp*, as most antiently with the crosets. but his father used them not. now the common ancestor of all these, *Walter de Beauchamp* baron of *Elmesley*, Mr. P—— says, bore only *gules a fess or*. but my manuscript of *Bodenham's* and many more books give him the crosets. there were three immediate descents between this *Walter* and the earls of *Warwick* we have mention'd, and they possibly might some use the crosets some not. but especially we might be assur'd, those that went the *Jerusalem* peregrinations did. therefore 'tis the wildest work in nature, to build demonstrations on such distant, uncertain, and obscure topics. and I dare to say, there is not a page in all Sir *William Dugdales's* book, but with the engines used by Mr. P—— he might write a book as large against it, and as full of contradiction, merely arbitrary and licentious. but the figure itself in our chapel is much better proof and demonstration, of the arms and person, than any he can bring against it. for there can be no greater right than having been a *croisader*, and one of the first and most considerable.

But I must not forget his polite advice at the bottom of his 68 p. and why ? he is proving that the numerous branchings of the *Beauchamp* family bore various arms. did I deny it ? what is it to the purpose ? but I mean before I have done, to make the reader some recompense, by giving a concise account of the original and meaning of the science of heraldry. Mr. P—— may take the opportunity of being better instructed.

2. The second figure I hold to be *William de Magnavile* father of her first husband. the former figure seems to be plac'd first, as near the altar, in regard of his having been so early in the holy war. I examin'd this figure carefully, and am satisfyed he has a helmet on, tho' Mr. P—— for luck-sake makes it a cap. but this is the shape of the helmet used in these days, we are writing of : as I can shew by innumerable monuments : for instance in *Matt. Paris*, just before the index, is the seal of the knight's templars, two sitting on one horse, with such square helmets. this was in 1118. in king *Richard's* second seal in *Speed*, his helmet the like.

In

In the church of *Burton coggles* aforesaid, built in *Henry II.* time, is the stone effigies of the founder in armor, crossleg'd, as having been in the holy war. he has this sort of helmet on, flat at top, with a chaplet or chief around it, set with gems. he is cover'd with a coat of mail, over that a fur-coat, and bend over his right shoulder : with a fess or belt on ; laying his right hand on the hilt of his sword. this person had a tomb, like that of *Thomas a Cantilupe* bishop of *Hereford* now remaining. it stood against the south east corner of the church. at the reformation, they took it down, and used the great stone which made the side of the tomb for part of the church wall next the street. 'tis a great stone six foot long, handsomely carv'd into six niches, in each the image of a knight in armor, with sword and shield, all their helmets are flat at top. in the church is another statue like that of the founder, which probably was his son, which lay upon the floor.

From such as are certain, we may argue to those we cannot directly prove. in my church of *Somerby* by *Grantham* is a crossleg'd knight, over it a queen's head with a veil of the time we are writing of, both which we must therefore assign to this time.

On the east side of *Iron-monger-street* at *Stamford*, is an old arched door ornamented with a man's and a woman's head. the latter is an elegant specimen of the woman's head-dress at this time, a fillet round her head, above the veil. this was built in that time.

Mr. *Peck* about 1236. mentions the strict orders sent from bishop *Grotest* of *Lincoln*, at this time, for the consecration of churches : in this diocese. it indicates the new building of churches lately, whether *de novo* or on old foundations : and reconsecrating them : sometime to new saints, as king *Henry* did by *Waltham* church.

See the tomb of *Brian Fitzalan* in *Bedale* church. depicted in *observ. reg. hon. Ricbm.* p. 242. he lived in the time of *Henry II.* his wife's head-dress like those we are writing of. the side of the tomb cut into niches with figures and shields of arms like that in *Burton* aforementioned. Mr. *Gale* writes, there was a *mausoleum* over it, finely gilt and adorned : and such probably at *Burton coggles*.

After lady *R O I S I A* had thus set up the pictures of her two husbands fathers, she next made those of the three sons, she had, by her first husband.

3. *Arnulf de Magnavile.*

4. *Gefferey de Magnavile* earl of *Essex*. who was a man eloquent in speech (so I correct *Dugdale*, p. 204) and of great abilities. he was sent with *Richard de Lucy* against the *Welsh*.

5. Her beloved son, *William de Magnavile* earl of *Essex* and of *Albemarle*; who lived all her life time. the other two dyed early. she has observ'd a distinction in this figure, turning his feet both one way toward the next figure, his wife. he was a great man, both in the cabinet and in the field.

6. Her son *William de Magnavile's* wife, that brought him the earldom and estate of the house of *Albemarle*.

Lady *R O I S I A* seems to have had a great friendship with her sister in-law, *Beatrix Magnavile*, here pictur'd: who married *William de Say*, and was the progenitor of the *Fitzpiers's*, who took the name, honour, arms and estate of the *Magnaviles*.

8. 9. Two male figures distinguish'd from all the rest, by two hearts cut on their breasts. no mortal alive, but would take these to be her two husbands, except Mr. *P*—— who does not think like other mortals: and appeals to the college of heralds to dispose of a lady's family pictures in her closet. then he brings a muster-roll of trifling objections against my disposition: as that two remain which I have not accounted for. this is false. I have accounted for the whole row, which is all that was necessary. it would be a wrong head that should go out of the way, to account for imperfect sketches, where we have no foundation for conjecture. he says, the *Vere* family, I have not taken notice of. this he observes out of a great regard (forsooth) of our lady's moral character, her filial piety. no doubt, but he is much concern'd about it, when he will not believe, there ever was such a person. but his objection like the preceding is groundless. for I took notice of her filial piety, when I interpreted the two figures on the sepulchral monument cut on the ground of this chapel, under that figure, which

(III)

which I call lady *ROISIA* in TAB. II. and when upon re-examining my plates this year I consider'd it a fresh ; I discover'd the shape of a hand and heart stretch'd out a long side of the little tomb. and likewise a female head at the feet. I can't pretend to suggest any other meaning in it, than an expression of her filial piety, toward the memory of her parents. and probably this was the picture of their monument in *Colne* abby chapel, which still remains in ruins. Mr. *Weaver* gives us an account of it. p. 613.

What our objector says again, p. 74. that these figures do not belong to the time of *Henry II.* but to about the year 1400. which he deduces from the head-dresses of the men and of the ladies : this again is absolutely false, and owing to ignorance, in the matter disputed. look into *Montfaucon's monuments*. there we find abundance of instances of the males and females habits and head-dresses exactly like these in our oratory. for an intire male figure, look into plate XXXIV. the time of *S. Louis*, 50 years after lady *ROISIA*. but the habit exactly the same. in the year 1200, a countess exactly the same, as our female figures. look in *Tome II. Tab. XVII.* figure 2. the intire figure of *Blanch de Castile* queen to *Lewis VIII.* 1220 : the very same as the ladys here, bating the royal mantle.

I mention'd before, queen *Elenor* wife to *Henry II.* in her monumental effigies at *Fonteverard*, has the like vail on, and a chin cloth : her arms dress'd alike. so king *John's* queen. so king *Richard's* queen, without the chin-cloth.

In the II. plate of seals *reg. bon. Richm. Peter de Dreux* earl of *Brittany* and *Richmond*, has a flat helmet. his wife is in the head-dress and habit of this time, in the seal underneath. she dy'd 1221.

We learn from that book of *Montfaucon* abundantly, that the same habit both for men and women prevailed from earliest times, to our *Henry II.* and 100 years after. vol. II. plate XIX. king *Pepin*, queen *Berta*, *Carloman*, *Gerberga* his wife, all belonging to the 9th century, are exactly the same habit as ours ; the men with a belt on their waist, the women a vail : a girdle, close sleeves on their arms.

Further,

Further, to quote instances in our adversary's own way, from church windows. in 1745 I visited *Balderton* church by *Newark*. the original church was founded by the bishops of *Sidnacester*. that long sought for place, I have shewn to be *Newark*. in a discourse on that subject, not publish'd. all the estate of those bishops, devolv'd to the see of *Lincoln*, which now possesses a great part of it. *Balderton* is a prebend. the church porch on the north side, is of the original structure, exactly like that of *Southwell* minster hard by built by *Paulinus* the *Northumbrian* apostle. over the door, is the image of the *Virgin Mary*, carv'd in *basso relievo*. the main of the present church and steeple, was built upon the old foundation, in the time of *Henry II.* by the bishops of *Lincoln*, and the families there, who had estates, under the bishops: whose heads are carved in stone under the arches of the windows, as we may with good reason believe. the most easterly window on the south side of the quire without, is adorn'd with the head of our monarch *Henry II.* crowned; on the right side, carv'd in stone: on the left side of his son *Geffery Plantaginet* bishop of *Lincoln*, at that time under age. on the south east window of the church, are the heads of *John de Amundevile* and *Ermetrida* his wife, who was niece to the earl of *Albemarle*, and therefore cozen to our lady *ROISIA*. this part of the church, no doubt, was built by him. see the genealogy of this family, and of those that married his heireses, in *Dr. Thoroton's* accurate history of *Nottinghamshire*, p. 184. they had an estate in this town.

In like manner in a south window of the church, without, is the head of *Robert de Chesney*, bishop of *Lincoln*: who built that part of the church: he dy'd 1167. *Geffery de Plantaginet* succeeded him.

On another south window, is another elegant female head, in the dress of the time, exactly conformable to the images of *Roiston* chapel. I take it to be the head of *Hugh de Buffy's* wife. who lived here: he died 20 king *John*. on the outside of the head-dress, is a square hoop or fillet, as in the former of *Ermetrida*, a round one.

Within side the church, on a pillar of the south side, is king *Henry's* head again. *Robert de Chesney* bishop of *Lincoln* founded the priory of *S. Katherin's* in the suburbs of *Lincoln*, to which he gave among other lands, three boyats of land in *Balderton*, with the farm-houses thereto belonging: which king *Henry II.* confirme

In

In his time therefore this church was rebuilt, and finish'd by *Geffery de Plantaginet* who after a six years vacancy, succeeded him, paid off his mortgages, and compleated his works. the pewing of the inside of the church is of the original work, and remarkably handsome.

Thus much I inserted, to shew the use that may, with proper judgment, be made of the carv'd heads underneath arches, in our churches. but Mr. P——s conclusions from some grotesque heads in his church, are as changeable and uncertain as *Harlequin*.

But return we to lady *ROISIA*'s first husband, *Geffery de Mandevile* mark'd 8. in TAB. III. I have a manuscript of all the genealogys of the *English* nobility drawn up in an heraldic way, by the hand of the great lord *Burghley*. he wrote many books of this kind of pedigrees, and extracts out of the records of the kingdom : whereof this is one. he has this of our *Geffery* and his wife *Roisia*. he gives us further, the empress's charter to him : in these words.

Matilda imperatrix Henrici Regis filia & anglorum Domina concessit Comiti Galfrido Essexiam, sicut Galfridus avus aut wilkelmus pater ejus tenuit. concessit etiam ei Turrim Lundoniæ cum castello quod subtus est, & vicecomitatum Essexiæ pro trecentis libris sicut Galfridus avus tenuit. & vicecomitatum de Hertford pro sexaginta libris. & vicecomitatum lundoniæ & Midlessexiæ pro trecentis libris. & etiam hereditabiliter justiciarium Lundoniæ, Midlessexiæ, Essexiæ, & de Hertfordshire. Testibus, Roberto Comite Glocestrie, Milone Comite Herefordiæ, Rogero Comite Cornubiæ, baldwino Comite Devonie, Gileberto Comite Penbrokie, Comite Hugone de Norfolkia, & Comite alberico.

This last I suppose was *Mandevil*'s father in-law, the earl of *Guines*.

9. Is lady *ROISIA*'s second husband *Payn Beauchamp*, baron of *Bedford*.

10. The next figure is her son *Beauchamp* baron of *Bedford*. and the three remaining figures, are her three daughters by *Beauchamp*. these persons are as easily and obvious to be named as possible, from the very species and number : as if their names were wrote over their heads, as in queen *Maud*'s tapistry.

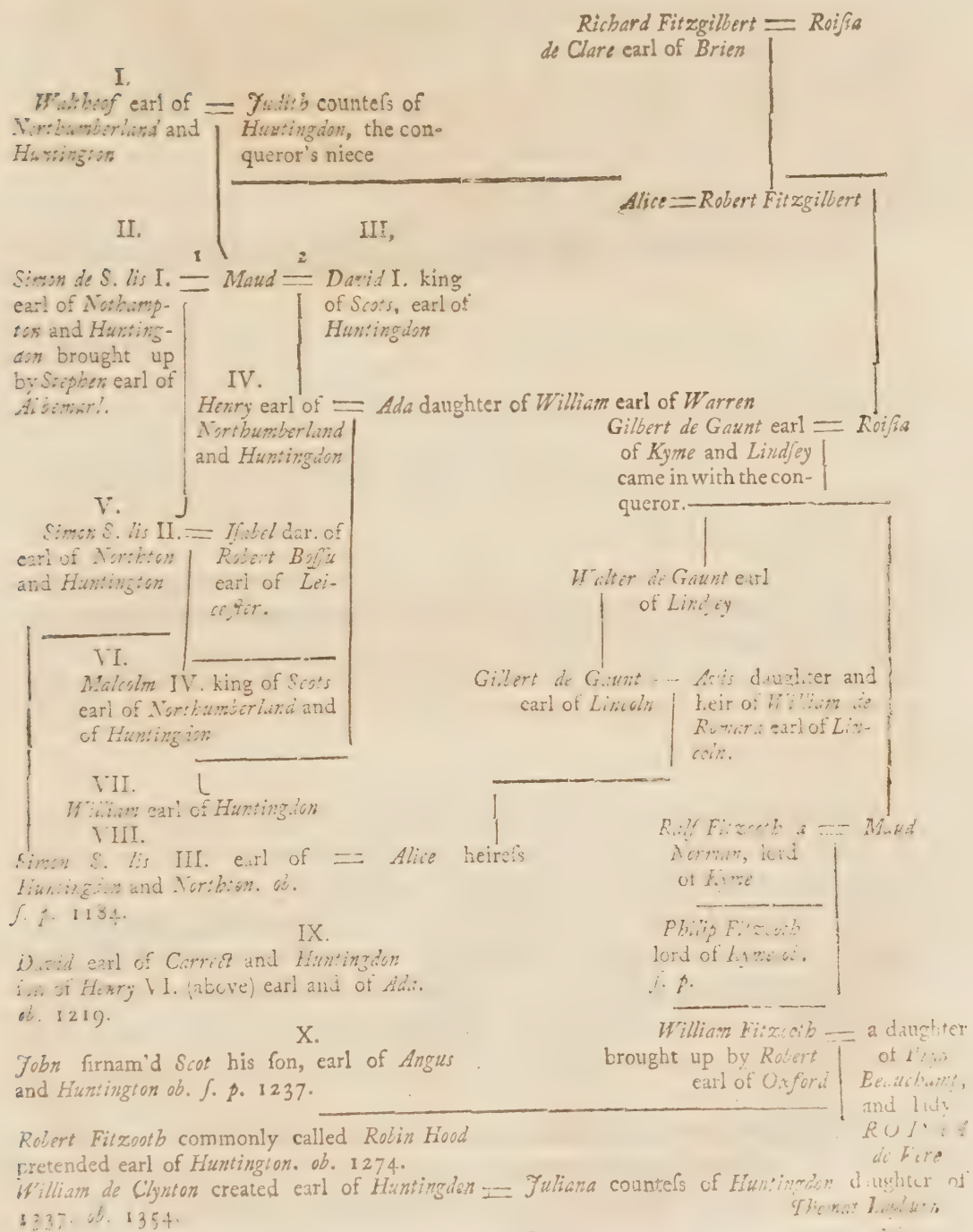
The eldest daughter who enjoys the family jewel on her breast, was married to *Roger*, son to *Nigel de Albiny*, who took prisoner *Robert Curthose* duke of *Normandy*. he was son of *Hugh Gornay*. to *Nigel*, *Henry I.* gave the name, arms, title and possessions of the great *Mowbray* earl of *Northumberland*. this shews, arms were hereditary now. he is one of the witnesses, together with *William* earl of *Albemarle*, *William* earl of *Essex*, and *Richard de Lucy*, to the arbitration made by king *Henry*, between the kings of *Navarre* and of *Castile*. *Hoveden*. 1177.

12. Her daughter who was married to the noble family of *Wake*.

13. Her daughter who was married to *William Fitzoths*, Son of *Ralf Fitzoths* a *Norman*, who came in with *William Rufus*, and of *Maud* his wife, daughter of *Gilbert de Gaunt*. lady *ROISIA*'s nephew *Robert* earl of *Oxford* had the wardship of this *William*. and by the king's direction, married lady *ROISIA*'s daughter, his niece to him. and his son was the famous *Robin Hood* so celebrated in our *English* poetry. *Gilbert de Gaunt* came in with *William* the conqueror, gave his daughter the earldom of *Kyme*, which afterwards descended to *Robert Humfrevil* earl of *Angus*, baron of *Prode* and *Redesdale*.

The earliest of our songs and ballads resound with the feats of *Robin Hood*, called earl of *Huntington*, to which earldom he had a pretence. I have added the genealogy, which is a curiosity of its kind.

The Pedigree of *ROBIN HOOD* earl of *Huntington*.



Now let us reflect without prejudice on this disposition of these family pictures, and you will find it well done, without the help of a herald. The principal figures are her two husbands plac'd in the middle, with their children on the side of them respectively. She has set the fathers of her two husbands first of all, the children of her first husband on the right hand, with her beloved son's wife, the heiress of *Albemarle*, and her husband's sister her intimate, close by her. then on the left hand the children of her second husband, a son and three daughters. we cannot desire a plainer or more natural order and explication.

These figures were made in the year 1188. when half the kingdom was rushing into the croisade. so zealous then was mankind in the cause of religion? but this spirit rais'd in our monarch *Henry II.* and his people, was quench'd by the pernicious machinations of the *French* king, who broke the truce, seduc'd the king's sons again to rebel.

This same year, *Hoveden* tells us, *Albemarle* the possession of *William de Mandevile* was burnt by the *French*. He in return, burnt *S. Clare*: and a beautiful grove which the *French* king had planted. then the king of *France* cut down the fine elm near *Gisors*, where the conventions between the two monarchs us'd to be held: as if he meant never more to treat of peace. but indeed the *French* then as now, practis'd no faith, either in war or in peace: and us'd our brave king so unworthily, both by their own violences, and encouraging his son's rebellion, that it brought him to his end, the year after.

William de Mandevile carried the imperial crown, at the coronation of *Richard I.* he was one that swore to his meeting the *French* king, to go together into the holy land. *Ralph de Glanville* chief justiciary of the realm desirous to undertake the croisade, resign'd his high office, and the king confer'd it on our *William de Mandevile*: but he dy'd in *november* the same year 1189 at *Roan*, and was there interr'd. the same stroke cut off our lady *ROISIA*, or rather, she might probably die at the latter end of the year preceding, and was interr'd in this her sepulchral chapel.

And thus we have finish'd the whole circle of the imagery, in an exact sequence, a natural as well as chronological order: not leaping from one part to another, as our antagonist falsely suggests. we have deduc'd our interpretation

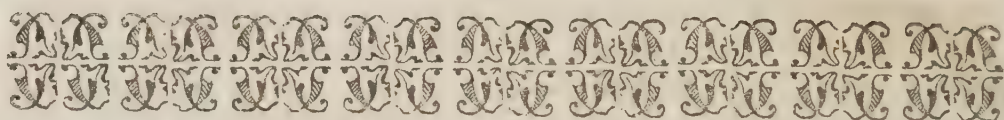
terpretation of this famous piece of *English* sculpture, from true history of the time, not from invention, groundless surmise, arbitrary assertion, monkish annals, or golden legend. well may it be esteem'd the noblest monument of these times, any where extant, and deserving our pains. here is a variety of events and transactions of a considerable part of a great lady's life, all relating to her king, her country, her family, consign'd to these lasting characters. a writing in *basso relievo*. she design'd it, as it were, for the lining of her tomb or coffin. wrap'd up in the arms of saints, of her dearest friends, and relations, she quietly laid her self to long rest. chance has produc'd these matters again to public view, and it demands a due regard. 'tis a manuscript history never before publish'd.

We may conclude, though *Angelo* and *Bandinelli* might have made a more correct drawing; yet they could not have made a more significant design, more concise, elegant and proper. they that endeavour to set this in a true light, have reason to hope for the candor of the public. and 'tis no mean thing to retrieve the life and acts and sepulture of the great foundress of *Roiston*, which escap'd the excellent *Mr. Camden's* sagacity.

From what *Mr. P.*— writes, p. 32. I have no hope of persuading him to it. he professes from *Horace*, that he has neither faith nor charity. it would be a precarious thing, to interpret any one of these preceding groups only, and apply it to its respective event, as in the account above. but when we consider the whole, it forces our assent, *defendit numerus*. and the most incredulous must needs say, with the *Italians*, *si non est vero, est ben trovato*.

I have only to add, on this head, that *John Colins*, esq; collector of excise here, a person curious in coyns and other antiquitys, gave me a seal, found in our chapel, when they took the earth away. I have engrav'd it in plate VI. 'tis of white earth like chalk or pipe-maker's clay, bak'd. I have a great many antient seals dug up in our abby yards and the like places. it was customary to bury their seals with the deceased. and this probably was what lady *R O I S I A* carryed about her, for common use.

Mr. Peck gives us a seal of *Matilda de Dive* in the beginning of *Richard I.* she is represented at full length. but much worse design'd than lady *R O I S I A's* figures. 'tis ill drawn and ill understood. but we see enough to shew the habit and the head-dress to be the same as our figures at *Roiston*. she holds a *flower de luce* in her hand.



C H A P. X.

Attollens humero, famamque & fata nepotum. Virg.

The commencement of heraldry about this time. of the ordinarys or principles thereof. the chief, whence deriv'd. the chevron. the fess. barry what? the bend. the pale. paly, what? the cross, chiefly the origin of all heraldry. the saltire. escarbuncle. mascles, fusils, bordures, flaunch, maunch, &c.

I Shall have the pleasure of speaking to the reader in this last chapter, without contention, at present. nor am I under any concern, if such, as without any provocation, or just reason, have contended with me, should do it again. though I have an aversion to wrangling: yet a causeless wrangler gives me no trouble: rather administers an agreeable amusement, in searching for the truth. we have been all this while, writing on the age, wherein heraldry took its rise. 'tis a curious subject, when stript of the pedantry, 'tis commonly put in. we have had occasion to speak of it already: and now with the greatest brevity, purpose to open the spring head of it, clear'd from the weeds of affectation. we are extremely oblig'd to the professors of this art, for preserving to us, the genealogys and histories of the noble familys and others, of these remote times. 'tis a very great fault to discourage this laudable endeavour, as has been done for some time, chiefly by the gentlemen of the law. and they themselves will soon see the inconvenience of it, when they find an interruption, in these kind of records.

After the declension of *Roman* military disciplin, the success of arms became more owing to the hardiness of individuals, and particular warriors, than to the united regimen and co-operation of the whole. and the custom of being arm'd *cap a pe*, gave rise to heraldry. they were only the nobles and better sort, that could be at the expence of it. and the necessity of their knowing one another, and of being known to their own men, oblig'd them to invent these ornamental distinctions, and colors,
which

which became coats of arms, or coat armor, to particular persons; and at length, descended to familys, as hereditary cognifances. there might be drawn up a very fine and curious account of this matter and largely. but I intend only to give the heads of it, in short : because I do not find, that 'tis thoroughly understood, by those that treat of it. and chiefly, I shall insist on the fundamentals of the art, which they call ordinarys : being the chief lines and members of a scocheon : which *ordinarily* support the innumerable ornaments and bearing of coat armor.

This is a study not unworthy of the best genius's. and scarce any despise it, but those that have no family to boast of, nor hope for it. I mention'd the folio manuscript of the great *Burghley's* own composing and own writing, containing the genealogys of the whole nobility of *England*, and most of the foreign princes, drawn out with his own hand. and they that wrote memoirs of his life inform us, he much diverted himself with this study, and knew the alliances of familys both at home and abroad, perfectly well. no doubt, but 'tis an useful qualification for a statesman, that he may understand their pretensions and claims. and we discern the usefulness of it, by the success of his ministry, among other things.

William the conqueror, gave for his device, a lyon rampant against a portcullis, with *fortiter resistendum*, beside his coat armor.

William Rufus gave for his device, an eagle looking against the sun; with this motto, *perfero*.

King *Stephen* gave a sagittarius, sometime an ostriches feather in plume, with this motto, *vi nulla invertitur ordo*.

King *Richard I.* gave two lyons combattant : and so on his first seal in *Speed*. though in his second the three lyons of *England*. when he went into the holy land, he took a crescent and a star.

We see here in short, the origin and gradual change of heraldry, till badges, devices and coats became hereditary in familys : and generally speaking fixt. but this is to be understood only in a general sense. for every one had it in their power to change their arms.

I shall

I shall therefore give my thoughts of this matter, chiefly from instances of persons belonging to lady *ROISIA's* family and relations. and generally including all the most antient coats among us: my manuscript of *Wingfield Bodenham's* above mention'd, being very serviceable for that purpose.

Further, I copyed the famous *Tabula Elyensis* (as I call it) being a painting of all the arms of the knights plac'd by *William* the conqueror in *Ely* abby. my friend *Dr. Knight* of *Bluntsbam* has an antient painting of it. these with the figures in the *Reg. hon. Richm.* are some of our most antient monuments of these matters.

The foundation of armory called ordinarys, the first and most honourable bearings, is no other than the simple, military habit: 'till for distinction sake, it was necessary to diversify it, innumerable ways.

I. C H I E F.

The first ordinary is the chief: being upon the upper part of the *scheon*. a *French* word, deriv'd from the *latin caput, cappa in italian*. it means the head or any thing relating to it. the *cap. cappa* is an old *Latin* word for *cap: capitis redimiculum*. whence chaplet; any thing bound about the head, for use or ornament. sometime this was a wreath about the helmet, of one or two colors. or a ribband, *diadema*. sometime worn in civil, as well as military life.

*hic manus ob patriam pugnando vulnera passi:
omnibus his nivea cinguntur tempora vitta. Virg.*

which may be thought equivalent to our cockades. In *Montfaucon's monuments* in the print of *Charles* the bald, about 850. the princes his counsellors are represented with fillets about their heads, ty'd behind. in *Speed's* history, king *Stephen* in his great seal, has a chief ty'd on his armed head, with two fillets flying from it, behind. see *Mr. Gales's* first plate of seals of the earls of *Richmond*. *Conan IV. a. d. 1170.* has a fillet about his helmet. this being of different colours would distinguish so many
great

great men, whose faces could not be seen, with a vizor closed. and these transferred to a shield in painting, became the *chief*, in the heraldic art.

Geffery Plantaginet earl of *Anjou*, son to *Fulk* king of *Jerusalem*, and father to our *Henry II.* bore gules a chief a. which is saying, that this family bore for their military habit and distinction, a bloody surcoat or taberd, upon the body of their armor, meaning the field of the coat; and a silver colored ribband or cockade, upon their helmet. in time, on account of the kingdom of *Jerusalem*, they added, over all an escarbuncle O.

Ranulf Glanville chief justiciary of *England*, under *Henry II.* he was succeeded in office by lady *ROISIA*'s son, *William Mandevile*: as he succeeded *Richard de Lucy*; her relation: he bore a. a chief indented az.

Geffery Fitzpiers de Lurgersball in *Wilts.* married *Beatrix* daughter and heir to *William Say*, earl of *Essex*: who owned *Sabridgworth*, so called from him: he caused his son to be called *Mandevile*, as heir of that family of lady *ROISIA*'s first husband; he bore a. a chief sa. frette o. he dy'd 1216.

Sometime there was a bearing on the cheif: as *Geffery Clynton* lord *Clynton*, made so by *H. I.* bore a. a chief az. charg'd with two mullets o. which regarded his *Jerusalem* peregrination.

Gilbert earl of *Pembroke* created by the conqueror, lived to king *Stephen*'s time; he bore a. a chief az. charg'd with three crosses pate fiche, in like regard to his holy land expedition.

Dodo de Lizures time of king *Stephen*, bore O. a chief az. — *Luginellus dux centum bipenniferorum* o. a. chief az. *Ely tablet*.

Guillim p. 40. gives us a coat *tenn*, a chief o. charg'd with a chapournet ermin, which is the pike or turning up of the cap, over the forehead. another, g. a chief, surmounted of another, o. being two ribbands of different colours, like our modern soldiers cockades, which may be said to succeed in place of our chiefs. again o. a chief az. a fillet below a, which is no other than a double ribband.

II. CHEVRON.

The second ordinary in heraldry is the chevron, *cavrone in italian*. 'Tis very absurd to derive this from the rafters and roof of a house, for what has that to do with art military? *Leigh* seems to smell out the truth, when he says, it was in old times the attire for the heads of women priests. he means the *mitra* of the antients. like to which in appearance was the vizor of a helmet in old times; when the face being open, the vizor is thrown upward, upon the top of the helm. and chevron may originally mean this piece of armory, which let down over the face, gave occasion to the whole of heraldry.

Or the chevron may be the *French* word *chaperon*, we rightly, in *English* call it a hood: being open before, for the face to appear. it was made of mail, and thrown over the back of the neck, upon the shoulders, like a capouch, when not in engagement. 'tis call'd a heaulme or *chapeau* by *Fern*: which originally was not permitted to any, under the quality of a king, in blazonry. when they wore a real helmet, then they had a chevron upon it of cloth or silk lin'd with ermin, with tassels, hanging down, sometime turn'd up again at bottom, like our riding caps. this defended them from the scorching heat. among many significations of the word *chaperon* in *French*, one is the cover or holster of a pistol, which is a good deal in shape and use like the vizor of an helmet.

Again, *chaperon* is a hood hanging upon the shoulders, such as our graduates use in the universitys. *aliqui tiaræ genus esse volunt*, says *Minsheu* of a chevron.

We see the chevron or mailed helmet in *Speed's* seals of king *Stephen* and *Henry II.* piked at top. we often see it hood-like, upon the top of the helm. in *Guillim* p. 48. you have a bearing o. a chevron in chief az. which is no other than a steel vizor, on a gilt helmet.

The *Staffords* in the time of *William* the conqueror bore o. a chevron rules. the meaning is, they wore a yellow taberd upon their armor, and scarlet cap upon their helmet.

Lady

Lady *ROISIA*'s mother bore o. three chevronels g. by the name of *Clare*, earls of *Clare*. and in the *Ely table* of *William* the conqueror's captains, *Brian de Clare* bears it.

Geffery Fitzpiers als *Mandevile*, heir of the name and estate of lady *ROISIA*'s first husband, bore g. three chevronels checke a. and az.

The earl of *Cardigan*, *Brudenell*, very significantly bears a chevron g. between three chaperons az.

Duchet dux architectorum ermin à chevron g. *Ely ta.*

Alexander de Monte g. three chevrons o. *Ely ta.*

Aumarus de longa spata o. three chevrons g. in chief two lioncels fa. *Ely tab.*

III. F E S S.

The third ordinary is the *Fess*, from the *Latin fascia, cingulum*, says *Minshew*. a military belt, in which hang the sword. the *fess* is the order of knight hood. *Fuller* in his holy war, p. 269. has a chapter of the honourable arms in scocheons, of nobility, occasion'd by their service in the holy war. the duke of *Austria* bears gules, a fess a. in memory of the valor of *Leopold* at the siege of *Acon*. where he fought so long, that his armor was all o'er gore blood, save the place cover'd by his belt. whereupon he and his successors dukes of *Austria*, renouncing the six golden larks, their antient arms, had assign'd them by the emperor a fess a. in a field g. as the hereditary coat of their family.

Hence we may perhaps collect, that *Hugh de Beauchamp* I. of whom we have so long disputed, for his valour, bore in the holy land, a golden belt in a bloody field. after his return, he added the *Jerusalem* crosses.

William Fitzosburn high marshal to *William* the conqueror bore g. a fess o. o'er all a bendlet a. — O. a fess between two chevrons g. *Anselm* lord *Fitzwalt*. temp. conq. of whom *Walt. Fitzwalt*. related to lady *ROISIA*.

William lord *Percy* came in with the conqueror bore az. a fess of mascles o. a whole figure of him n^o. 3. in company of the first earl of *Richmond*, in the 1. p. of *Reg. hon. Richm.*

Nicholas Ufflet, time of *W. II.* bore a. on a fess az. three flowers de lis o.

Walter Clifford, time of *H. I.* bore checke o. and az. a fess g.

Warrin Vernon, time of *k. Steph.* bore a. on a fess az. three garbs o.

Barry is a kin to the fess. *Beatrix* sister by the mother's side to *W.* conq. daughter of *Herlwin de Burgo* of *Normandy* and wife to *Alberic de Vere I.* bore barry a. and az. 'tis a surcoat made of horizontal slips of differing colors.

Ralf de Meschines came with *W.* conq. bore barry o. and g.

Gilbert de Gaunt, time of *W.* conq. earl of *Lyndsey* bore barry o. and az. over all a bend g. ancestor of *Robin Hood*.

William Mandud, time of *W.* conq. bore a. two bars g.

Ranulf de Botevile, time of *W.* conq. bore barre o. and fa.

Robert Efstevile, time of *W.* conq. bore antiently barre a. and g. in time they added a black lyon.

William Lovel baron *Lovel*, time of *H. II.* bore barry wavy o. and g.

The *Molton's* lord *Egremont*, time of *H. II.* bore barry a and g.

Stephen Fergant, time of *R. I.* bore barry o. and g.—O. two bars g. in chief three torteauxes by the name of *Wake* lady *ROISIA's* son in law.

Blundus dux barre nebule f. and o. *Ely tab.*

Paganus le lorain equitum signifer barre of 8. a and az. *Ely tab.*
Abrahamus

Abrahamus de pecani g. a fess between two chevrons a. *Ely tab.*

Aimundus filius alani barry of 10 o. and g. *Ely tab.*

Gerardus de longo campo g. a fess o. *Ely tab.*

IV. B E N D.

The fourth ordinary is the bend, a band, scarf, or shawl as now call'd, a military honour. *Guillim* calls a bend sinister a scarp, scarf, *French* escharpe. the bend lyes over the right shoulder, whether it be a belt with the sword hanging to it, as sometime it has been worn, and very broad; or merely an ornamental scarf. 1268 *Alphonso* king of *Spain* created an order of knights *de la banda*, who wore a red scarf over their right shoulder.

Ranulf a *Norman* came with *W.* conq. created earl of *Norfolk* bore parte per pale o. and sa. a bend verre a. and az.

Ralf Fitzooth a *Norman* came into *England* in time of *W. II.* his son married lady *ROISIA*'s youngest daughter: whence the famous *Robert Fitzooth*, commonly *Robin Hood*: he bore g. two bends engrail'd o.

Miles Fitzwalter earl of *Hereford*, time of *H. I.* bore g. two bends, one o. the other a.

Wm. marshal of *England*, time of *H. II.* bore g. a bend of mascles o.

Richard Brewer earl of *Devon*. time of *W. I.* bore g. two bends wavy o.

O. a bend sa. *Peter de Malolacu.*

O. two bends az. *Rob. D'oyley* constable to *H. I.* founder of *Oseney* abby, and of *Oxford* castle.

Philip lord *Talbot* at the conquest bore bend a. and g.

Robert 1o. Gresley came with *W. I.* bore g. a bend and two bendlets in finister quarter o.

Harold base son to k. *Harold*, baron of *Sudley* bore o. two bends g.

Hugo de Monteforti equitum dux bende az. and o. *Ely tab.*

Adanus exercitus capitalis mariscalus g. a bend of mascles o. *Ely tab.*

Fiden de Furnivallo lumbardus a. a bend betw. six martlets g. *Ely tab.*

Mali ducentorum peditum dux o. a bend fa. *Ely ta.*

Eustachius le blanch g. a bend of mascles fa. *Ely ta.*

Eustachius le nothus az. a bend of mascles a. *Ely ta.*

V. P A L E.

The fifth ordinary in heraldry is the pale, having its name from pall, *pallium*, resembling the archbishops pall: which was a narrow slip hanging down before. the pall is the mantle falling down with a corner before: as is seen in *Richard I.* sepulchral monument at *Fonteverard*, in *Montfaucon's monumens.* and the pile is really no other. pale in military use was a furtout compos'd of perpendicular slips of differing colors: sometime sow'd together throughout, sometime open here and there, that the armor might be seen underneath, like as in a *Spanish* slash'd doublet. so the effigies of the black prince, in *Canterbury* cathedral, engrav'd by *Elfrake.*

Earl *Morc* son to *Algar* the great earl of *Mercia*, meaning our *Holland* in *Lincolnshire*; he was lord of *Brig-Casterton* by us, and bore verry a. and az. a pale fa.

Walter D'evreux came into *England* with *W.* conq. who created him earl of *Salisbury*, bore g. two pales verry a. and az. on a chief o. a lyon passant fa.

Geffery earl of *Hinkley*, time of *W. II.* bore g. a pale o.

Hugh

Hugh Gornay a Norman grandfather to *Roger Mowbray*, who married lady *ROISIA*'s eldest daughter, bore pale o. and az.

Hugh Bigod earl of *Norfolk* time of *H. I.* bore parte p pale o. and az. a lyon rampant g.

Wm. earl of *Eagle* time of *Stephen*, bore pale g. and verry a. and az. a chief o. charg'd with three eaglet s fa.

Hugh Longchamp lord of *Wilton* time of *R. I.* bore verry or and az. two pales o.

Fulk Warren lord *Fitzwarren* temp. *Jo.* bore parte p pale and fess indented, a. and g. counter chang'd.

Simon Silvanet the Norman, came in with conq. bore parte p pale indented a. and az. earl of *Leicester*.

Urfois D'abtot sherif of *Worcester* time of *W. II.* whose daughter and heir married to *Wm. Beauchamp* baron of *Elmesly*, lady *ROISIA*'s relation: bore parte p. pale o. and g. three roundles counterchang'd.

Pigotus tertius filius Bodet, parte per pale o. and fa. upon a lyon rt. g. a bendlet az. *Ely tab.*

Bevalius dux militum versus Ely a. a pale fa. *Ely tab.*

VI. C R O S S.

The cross is the most honourable and chiefly the occasion of all the rest. arms were born, and distinctions of persons, from the beginning: being devices, badges, generally emblematic of courage and valor. but they became not commonly hereditary, or family distinctions, till the time of the croisades, as is agreed, on all hands. when our *Henry II.* and the *French* king took the cross, with intent to make an expedition into the holy land: it was stipulated between them, that for distinction of nations,

nations, the *French* should wear red crosses, the *English* white, the *Flandrians* green. this was on S. *Agnes* day 1188.

But it was necessary to multiply these distinctions, more particularly. and then they invented great diversity of crosses and crossings. our lady *ROISIA*'s family, *de Vere*'s ancestors bore a quarter, or canton g. seme de fleurs de lis, o. charg'd with a star a. but now, after the croisade, they parted their shield cross-wise g. and o. preserving the quarter with the star. so born by lady *ROISIA*'s brother.

The *Beauchamp*'s her second husband bore a military belt or fess or, in a red field, charg'd with six cross cross-lets or. this was the *Jerusalem* cross, and regarded the croisade : for the same reason, as *Wm. Romara* earl of *Lincoln* bore them in his arms. *Lacy*'s nobil. p. 35. or the earls of *Albemarl* and innumerable more. therefore our adversary can have no more reason to deny our *Beauchamp* his coat armor, than the rest : but for contradiction sake.

Argent a cross gules, being S. *George*'s cross, became famous in king *Richard*'s I. time, when *England* was subjected to this patronage, from some fortunate omen taken from that saint ; who was buried at *Lydda* in the holy land.

Eustace Fitzjohn parte p croix o. and g. a border verry a, and az. time of *W. Rufus*.

Wm. Bonvile temp. *Stephen* Rs, bore parte p croix o. and sa.

Stephen de Fortibus brother to the earl of *Champaign* was by the conq. created earl of *Albemarl* in *Normandy*. his son *William le Gros* was earl of *Albemarl* and *Holdernefs* in *England*. his daughter and heir *Avis* was married to *Wm. de Magnavile* earl of *Essex* son to lady *ROISIA*. they bore an account of their expedition of the croisade g. a cross flore verry a. and az. *Stephen* went to the holy war with *Robert* duke of *Normandy*, whence he took this coat. so *Wm.* earl of *Albemarl*, so our *Beauchamp* father to lady *ROISIA*'s second husband. *Fuller*'s ho. war. p. 20. that author speaks much of the crosses, the consequence of the ho. war. see *Drayton*'s *polyol.* p. 243.

William

William lord *Trusbut*, in the time of *W.* conq. bore az. a cross pate o.

O. a cross flore sa. *Lamplugh* in the time of *H.* II.

O. a cross pate fitch g. *Galfride de scudamore* time of *H.* II.

Parte p cross o. and g. a bend of the 2d. *Beauchamp*, baron of *Bedford*, husband to lady *R O I S I A*.

O. cross sa. *Jo.* *Orynes* lord *Vesey*. temp. conq.

O. cross g. *Jo.* *de Burgh*, earl of *Ulster*.

Ursois master of the conqueror's military engines, bore a. a cross sa. *Ely tablet*. he repaired the *Roman* camp south of *Audrey* caufy.

Pezrel captain of 300 foot g. a cross flore a. *Ely ta*.

William Say lord *Say* who married as above, *Beatrix* sister of *Geffery Mandevile* earl of *Essex* first husband of lady *R O I S I A*, he bore parte p croix or and g. afterward they added a lyon passant az. in the dexter quarter. his heir general *Beatrix* married to *Geffery Fitzpiers* of *Lugershal* in *Wilts* earl of *Essex*, and chief justiciary. he bore parte p croix o. and g. a border verrey.

O. a cross az. *Bobun* earl of *Hereford*.

Sewardus anglis prefectus a. a cross flore sa. *Ely. tab*.

In *Montfaucon's* plate XXXIII. fig. 4. *Henry* lord of *Mez* (a *mareschal*) and knight receives the banner for the croisade, from *S. Denis*. he has on, a *chaperon* of mail, thrown off upon his shoulders; to put on, in fight: upon his breast he bears azure a cross ancre arg. over all a bend gules. he is belted with his sword on. round his head the *filet*. here in this single figure, you have nearly all the ordinarys in heraldry: and the principal occasion of armory.

The SALTIRE.

Is a cross belt or thash, akin to the cross : and taken on the same occasion : the holy war.

Geffery lord *Botetort* in the conqueror's time, from whom is descended the earls of *Derby*, *Sussex*, *Huntington*, *Berkley*, *Wentworth*, *Dursley*, *Ferrers*, *Willughby*, *Stapleton*, &c. bore o. a saltire fable.

Parte p. saltier o. and a. a cross forme az. *Hugh Pudsey* bp. of *Durham* justiciary n. of *Trent* in time of king *R.* I.

Tibetot bore a. a saltire ingrail'd fa.

Nevil fa. a saltire a. *Hugh Nevil* went with king *R.* to the holy war and assumed thence the saltire, says *Fuller*. and hence the statues of cross-legged knights in our churches.

Warin Fitzgerald hence bears a saltire g. in a field a.

The escarbuncle is a cross and saltire conjoin'd. the earls of *Anjou* from whom our *Plantagines*, bore g. a chief a. over all an escarbuncle o. this from their croisfades.

Lady *ROISIA*'s first husband *Magnavile* bore parte p cross o. and g. an escarbuncle fa.

Besides the cross and vast variety of crossing, there were many matters relating to the holy war, which were occasions of armory. as *Fuller* observes p. 270. *holy war*. many persons who had coat armor, chang'd 'em for crosses on that journey. many things were assum'd besides crosses : such as escalop-shells, palmers-scrips, staves, saracens-heads, mullets, &c.

George Villiers duke of *Buckingham*, says he, bore five scallop-shells on a plain cross : speaking of his predecessors valor in the croisade. for Sir *Nicholas de Villiers* knight followed *Edward I.* thither, assuming this new coat. before, he bore fa. three cinquefoils a. on the same account *John Mallet* lord *Mallet* temp. conq. bore az. three escalops. o. on like account the

the *Clyntons* earls of *Lincoln* added two golden stars on their chiefs. and my ancestors the *Styvecle's* of *Huntingtonshire* three stars on their fess.

Nor can we withhold due praise from those illustrious hero's, that went out of true piety on that hazardous expedition. whose names ought to be collected, and preserv'd for a memorial to all generations. such as *Simon S. lis I.* earl of *Northampton* and *Huntingdon.* ob. 1153. *Walkelin de Ferrers* baron of *Okeham.*

Philip de Albiny who died and was bury'd in the holy land. *Sir Robert de Vere.* *John lord Mallet.* *Sir Frederic Tilney.* *Lord Dacres,* *Warin Fitzgerald.* *Ingelram de Fienes* who from thence bore a. 6 crosses crossie fitche sa. *Amery de Montford.* *Hugh le Brain.* *William de Curci.* *Robert de Newburgh.* *Girard de Talbote.* *William Romara.* the earl of *Leicester.* *Hugh Nevil.* *Hugh Lacy.* *Turnham Touchet* *Pool Gornay Gray* *Lisle Ferrers* *Mortimer Berkley,* &c.

These among an infinite number more, noble and ignoble, went thither to fight against the *Infidels.* see *Drayton's Polyolbion,* g. 286.

After all the variety and multiplicity of ordinarys and crosses, already spoken of: 'tis apparent, that it was still necessary to multiply those, and other methods into an infinite number of distinctions. one artifice was, for instance, after colors and ordinarys were exhausted, to vary the shape of the out line by what they call invecked, ingrailed, waved, nebule, inbattled, indented, dancette, &c. and this was after the practise of the artificers who made their surcoats, and other matters belonging to their arms.

After this, they invented an infinite number of charges, for instance, some alluding to their names. *Richard de Lucy* lord chief justice, a near relation of lady *R O I S I A,* bore three lacy fishes o. in a field g. descended from *Lucy normanus admirallus,* in the *Ey tablet,* who there bears the same.

Ferrers

Ferrers earls of *Derby* bore horse shoes, alluding to the name *ferrarius*, farrier.

The *Veres* lady *ROISIA*'s family took a blue boar for their supporter, from *Verres* in latin. *Joannes Malmanus peditum signifer*, az. three sinister hands coupe, proper. *Ely tablet*.

Others took the forms of animals, especially such as denoted fortitude; thus *Roger Mowbray* who married the eldest daughter of lady *ROISIA*, bore g. a lyon rt. a. langued az. a crescent for difference. *Mabil* daughter and heir of *Robert Fitzhamon* 1148. married *Nigel de Albiny* lord *Mowbray* bore az. a lyon rt. gt. o.

Robertus Normanus Mariscalus o. a lyon rt. fa. *Ely ta*.

Rivers the same temp. conq.

Talbotus 6 filius in legatione missus g. a lyon rt. and bordure O. *Ely ta*.

William Daubigny tem. conq. g. a lyon rt. o.

Walter de Lacy the conquerors sword bearer o. a lyon rt. g. *Ely tablet*. a whole figure of him in *Reg. hon. Richm.* no. 5.

Pigotus equitum 300 dux per pale or. and fa. a lyon rt. g. *Ely ta*.

Elenor qu. to *H. II.* bore g. a lyon rt. gt. o. the d. of aquitain and guien.

Beaumontus equorum magister conquestoris az. seme de fleurs de lis a lyon rt. o. *Ely ta*.

Isabel de Ripariis married *William de Fortibus* earl of *Albemarl* and lord of *Holdernefs* bore o. a lyon rt. az. double tailed, he was son by *Avis* widow of *William Magnavile* earl of *Essex* the beloved son of lady *ROISIA*.

Adeliza de Vere sister in-law to lady *ROISIA* wife to her bro. *Albery III.* earl of *Oxford*, bore g. a lyon pt. o. as dar. to *Roger Bigot* earl of the e. angles.

Algar

Algar the great earl of *Mercia* at the time of the conquest bore o. an eagle sa. he own'd great part of our marshland country of *Lincolnshire* called *Holland*, whence, as I take it, the origin of the name and kingdom of *Mercia*.

Our *Henry II.* join'd his wives lyon to those of his father, and thence bore three.

There were many things belonging to armor besides the ordinarys above-mention'd which were introduc'd into heraldry. *Mascles* were a piece of mail. *Hubert de Burgo* earl of *Kent* and chief justice of *England*, who married *Isabel* the widow of *Geffery Fitzpiers* alias *Mandevile* earl of *Essex*, heir to lady *ROISIA*'s first husband, bore g. 7 mascles, verry a. and az. which was likewise the arms of *Wulnoth* brother to king *Harold*. *Fusils*, the same, a. three fusils g. the great *Montacute*, earl of *Salisbury*: ancestor to the duke of *Montagu*.

Bordures, were a hem of a differing color round their military cassock. *labels* round the neck thereof. and these charg'd with plates, rundlets, bezants, *torteaux*, &c.

A *Flaunch* was a gusset of differing color, sew'd on the sides of the taberd, above the opening. the flank.

A *Canton* It was a piece of stuff, of a differing color sew'd on the right sholder of the taberd. earl *Alan* of *Britany* nephew to the conqueror bore cheque o. az. a canton ermin. his whole figure in the *Reg. bon. Richm.*

A. a canton g. *Clare*.

A *Maunch*, *manica* in *latin* was the sleeve of the taberd. these were sometime put on, when armed, sometime not, as being an impediment to action. *William de Mohan* earl of *Somerset* g. a manch ermin, the hand holding a flower de lis o. he was witness to *Alaud* the emperors charter of the earldom of *Essex*, to *Geffery Mandevile* lady *ROISIA*'s husband.

Hastings Mues o. a manch g. *Ely* ts.

A. a manch sa. earl of *Huntington*

A. *Fit*

A *Fret* is the coat plated with cross bars of iron. fa. a fret or *maltravers*.

Sa. a fret a. *barrington*.

G. a fret o. *verdun*.

Guido de sancto leodegario a. a fret a. chief o. *Ely ta.*

Gauntlets, swords, rests, lances, pheons the barbs or phangs of arrows. inescucheons are shields, battle-axes.

Dunstan le gros fa. on a fess and a canton a. a hatchet. g. *Ely ta.*

Helmets. water-buckets, very necessary in camps.

These matters all manifestly belong to art military. beside which innumerable, arbitrary fancies of private persons.

Joannes de Eboraco amalo (Mauleverer) az. three greyhounds current a. *Ely ta.*

Ranulfus miles germanicus g. three cranes a. *Ely ta.*

Bardolfus operatoribus prefectus az. 3 cinquefoils pierced o. *Ely ta.*

———— *scutatorum laxatorum* g. three salts o. *Ely ta.*

Pigotus — *ilium curator* fa. three picks a. *Ely ta.*

Sometime they bore several ordinarys together, as the great *Waltbeof* e. of *Northumberland*, *Huntingdon* and *Northampton* in the time of the conq. bore pale o. and g. over all a bend fa. he lived at *Conington* in *Huntingtonshire*, and at *Ryhal* by *Stamford*, was beheaded by the conqueror and buried at *Croyland*. his image now remains in the magnificent front of that abby. together with that of the conqueror, of lord *Turketil* abovemention'd, and many other kings prelates, and nobles, very well carv'd.

William

Job Lovelock's Book Hamptstead Novm Berke 1045

William Osburn, marshal in the army of *W.* conq. created earl of *Hereford*, bore g. a golden fess over all a silver bend.

Maud daughter of *Gilbert de Gaunt* earl of *Lyndsey* was married to *Ralph Fitzothel*, she bore barry o. and az. over all a bend g: whence *Robin Hood*, lady *ROISIA*'s grandson.

Then they invented bearings consisting of variety of colors and those dispos'd into variety of forms. hence the cheque o. and az. of the earls *Warren*, who became lords of *Stamford*, and of *Grantkam*. a whole figure of *Wm.* earl *Warren* in his taberd, standing behind the conq. in *Regist. hon. Richm.*

Willus comitis Warren frater cheque o. and az. a bend a. *Ely ta.*

Eneas de novo burgo, lozenge o. and az. a border g. bezante. *Ely ta.*

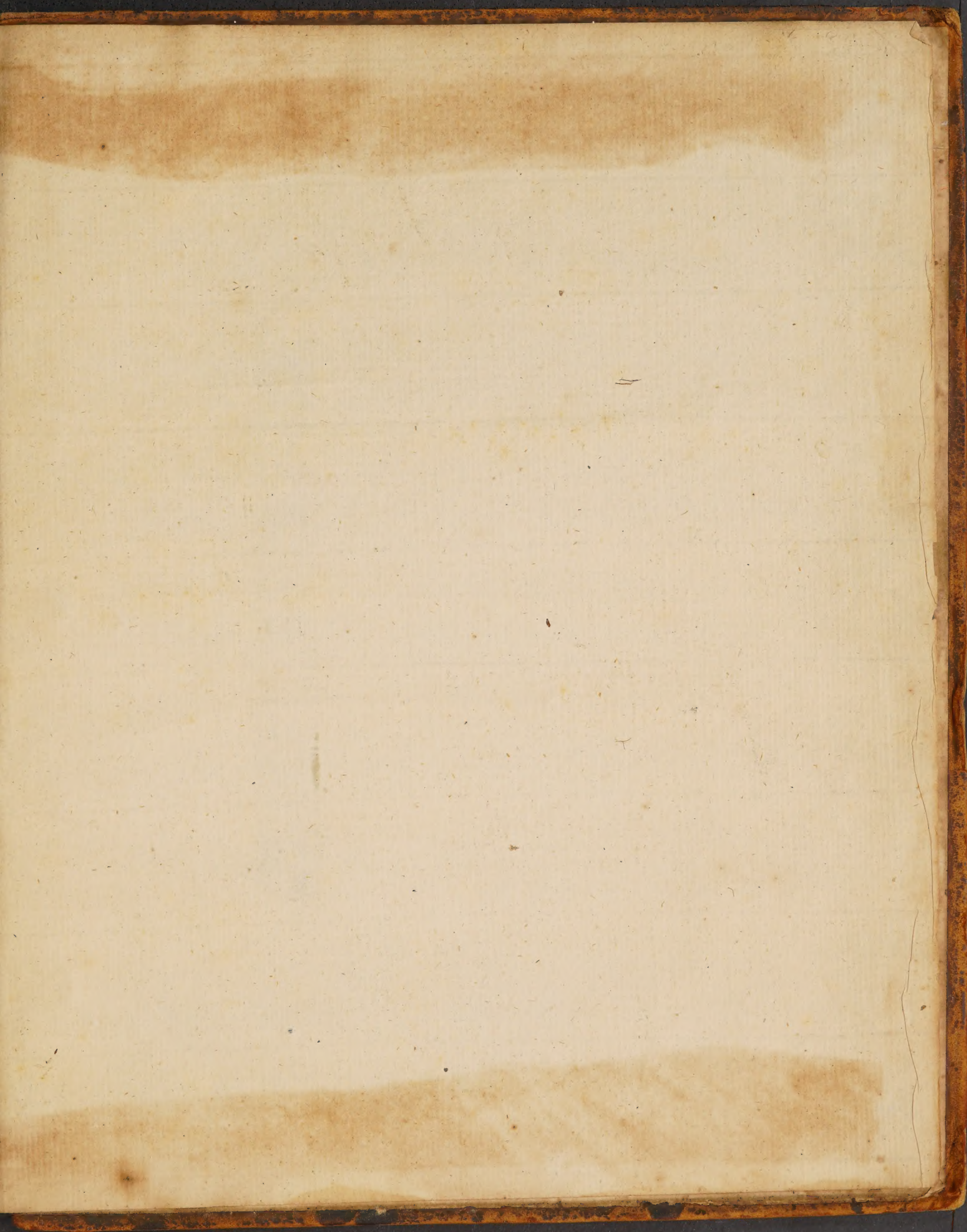
Nigellus de la fontana ermin three lunets sa. *Ely tab.*

I have finish'd what I propos'd : a specimen of what may be said on the origin of heraldry, deduc'd from the art military of these times we have been writing of. I have illustrated it from some of the most authentic records of this sort, to be found : and generally containing most of the antientest arms. and the *Beauchamp* scocheon in lady *ROISIA*'s chapel is evidently one of the eldest monuments we know of, relating thereto:

F I N I S.

~~E R R A T A.~~

~~p. 14. line 14. populous. 25. l. 9. de Gaunt. 29. l. 25. Milles's. 40.
C H A P. V. 48. l. 21. after it. 41. l. 2. is his. 43. l. 27. Glocester. 44.
l. 28. fallible. 47. l. 31. appositely. 55. l. 20. of my book. 69. l. 30. of
him. 63. l. 30. purity, innocence. l. 10. after stration. 71. l. 4. after
mention'd.~~



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